MONUMENT WITHOUT QUALITIES

by
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture
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MONUMENT WITHOUT QUALITIES

A study of popular narratives about Jinnah Mausoleum in Karachi, Pakistan

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture
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ABSTRACT

Traditional interpretations of monuments look either at the process of production or of the nature of reception. In this thesis, I take a slightly different approach and look at the monument that exists in peoples' imagination prior to what is actually constructed.

The mausoleum of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founding leader of Pakistan, provides an appropriate subject for such an approach. Jinnah was a larger than life figure, who embodied for most of the citizens of the new nation the ideals on which the country was founded. The imagination of his mausoleum is therefore intertwined in very dense ways with the popular imagination of identity, nationhood, and national ideals. Another reason for favoring this approach is the availability of direct information on popular conceptions of the proposed monument. These conceptions were recorded in a series of letters written by ordinary people to Miss Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, and by most accounts the protector of his idealistic legacy.

This mode of inquiry raises a number of theoretical issues. One is the articulation in these correspondences, of the appropriation of the ideal of. the monument in a moment before it is built. It problematizes the entanglement of the monument with what de Certeau calls 'strategies of power' and 'tactics of below' by illuminating facets of the nature of each. Behind this lies a fundamental question.

How does one gain access to and think about a modern monument in order to be able to understand its nature and to narrate its story? I use content of these letters to approach this question.

Thesis Supervisor: Mark Jarzombek
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Dedicated to

My grandparents

If there is such a thing as a sense of reality, then there must also be something that one can call a sense of possibility... the capacity to think how everything could "just as easily" be, and to attach no more importance to what is than to what is not. Such possibilitarians live, it is said, within a finer web, a web of haze, imaginings, fantasy and the subjunctive mood.... [They] are referred to as crackbrains, dreamers, weaklings, know-it-alls, and carpers and cavilers. When one wants to praise these poor fools, one sometimes calls them idealists. The possible, however, covers not only the dreams of nervously sensitive persons, but also the not yet manifested intentions of God. [It] has in it something out-and-out divine, a fiery soaring quality, a constructive will, a conscious utopianism that does not shrink from reality but treats it, on the contrary, as a mission and an invention. [T]he man with an ordinary sense of reality resembles a fish that nibbles at the hook and does not see the line, while the man with ... the sense of possibility pulls a line through the water without any notion whether there is bait on it or not.

And since the possession of qualities presupposes that one takes a certain pleasure in their reality, ... someone who cannot summon up any sense of reality – even in relation to himself – [may] one day...appear to himself as **a man without qualities**.[1]

[1] Robert Musil: *The Man Without Qualities*. New York: Perigee Books, 1980, p. 12.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have been thinking and researching different aspects of Jinnah's mausoleum for more than a year. It is therefore not surprising that I have a long list of acknowledgements. I want to mention a few of the individuals who have given me personal support and encouragement. This project went in many directions before taking the current shape for which I am in debt to Mark Jarzombek, Helene Lipstadt, Arindam Dutta and Nasser Rabbat.

Arindam Dutta, amongst other things, gave his guidance in reading the incredibly rich and challenging texts and drawings that forms the central core of the thesis.

Nasser Rabbat kept a check on my tendency to wander off on tangents, by maintaining my focus on the purpose of the endeavor.

Mark Jarzombek reminded me to keep an eye on the findings of such an exercise for both my intellectual growth and the study of architectural history.

I am also most thankful to Helene Lipstadt's deep imprint on the quality of this work. Her discussions first encouraged me to keep dwelling on it and her reading of subsequent versions improved it at every point. Her numerous editorial suggestions are deeply appreciated.

In Pakistan, the Director of Design Bureau at Karachi Development Authority, Syed Zaigham Jaffery was most helpful in providing a road map of where research materials could be found, in addition to giving me information about the landscape project of the mausoleum underway. Deputy Director National Archives at Islamabad, Zafar Ali Barqi is responsible for acquiring materials for me that were almost impossible to extract out of the bureaucratic system of the archive. I want to thank everyone who granted me interviews in Pakistan, usually at very short notices. Amongst these, Zaheer-ud-din Khwaja, Fauzia Qureshi and Syed Hashim Raza merit special mention.

Part of this research was done in the microfiche reading rooms at Government Documents at Harvard University, Rotch library at MIT and the periodical room at Secretariat in Islamabad, where the librarians and supporting staff were friendly and helpful.

Among many other friends and colleagues, I owe special thanks to Zeynep Celik, Erdem Erten and Ijlal Muzaffar for never frowning at my radically and abruptly changing ideas about the thesis topic. Adnan Morshed, Janna Israel and Diana Ramirez Jasso were always there to lift up my spirits when I felt low and for taking an active interest in the thesis. I could always count on Kathreen Wheeler-Borum and Jorge Otero-Pailos to be in the HTC kennel. The significance of such presence in the kennel could be appreciated only by those who work there. I also want to extend my thanks to Sadia Awais for being a wonderful victim of my experiments with writing approaches.

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Figure I: Fatima Jinnah and Mohammad Ali Jinnah

in Ahmed Hasan Dani: *The Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum in Pictures*, Islamabad: Ministry of Education Press, 1976.

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INTRODUCTION

Letters from the common people addressing those in positions of power concerning issues other than personal favors and concessions are common, at least in political systems that proclaim a certain aspiration to democracy. In the newly-found state of Pakistan (1947), we witness a profusion of such texts. The main body of my thesis is a close reading of the conceptions entailed in one set of such private letters. These are 36 letters written between 1949 and 1965 by ordinary Pakistanis, in their personal or quasi-professional capacities, to Ms. Fatima Jinnah, the sister of the country's founder and first head of state, the Quaid-e-Azam (Great Leader) Mohammad Ali Jinnah (see figure I). The death of Jinnah merely thirteen months after the independence of a state that was still fragile and disoriented, provided the spark for a series of letters that dealt with his legacy, in particular the conceptions of a fitting monument that could accommodate his memory. Some of these letters have survived and are preserved in the archival records of Fatima Jinnah's correspondence. These surviving texts, as well as other records (e.g. Fatima Jinnah's press releases and newspaper articles), show clearly that these are but a small fraction of the entirety of correspondence that took place. In particular, there are references to other letters written by concerned or affected citizens in the form of complaints, questions or suggestions, most frequently to Ms Jinnah and the Quaid-e-Azam Memorial Fund, but to police authorities, municipal agencies, and interior and housing ministries.[2]

Of the thirty-six surviving letters, I have selected eighteen for detailed investigation as the subject of my master's thesis. The selected letters deal directly or indirectly with the focus of my thesis, namely the diversity of conceptions and perceptions of a suitable mausoleum for Jinnah. More specifically, my examination of these letters focuses on their architectural context and appropriation of the monument in the moment before construction, rather than its physical production or popular reception.

The letters contain a variety of questions and proposals that provide an insight into the imagination of the new country. On the surface, they deal with the programmatic and design features of the tomb as a special monument, or the spatial, supra or even sub-spatial qualities of the site where Jinnah was buried. At another level, they reveal the underlying image of the hero and choreograph it onto space. They illustrate Jinnah's symbolic relation with the writers and, thus, with the larger collectivity of the nation and thereby bring out the multiplicity of images of this monument and thus its place in society.

[2] We have evidence of additional letters, before 1949, see appendix I .

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In the analysis of these writing about architecture or the burial grounds of Jinnah, I will argue that one finds what I call idealism from below; in this case, idealism made possible by the specific person of Fatima Jinnah.

This idealism from below surfaces through the four-way unequal interaction between ideas about Jinnah, Fatima, the citizen and the mausoleum. The thrust of my argument is that the expression of this popular idealism becomes possible through a combination of political and architectural possibilities. One, without the presence of Fatima to incarnate, facilitate, and attract the expressions of idealism, the letters would never have been written. She is viewed not as just another member of the elite society. Rather, she seems to many of her correspondents to be the surviving incarnation of the ideals of the independence movement. While she does not hold a formal status in the structure of state power, she becomes the spiritual heiress to Jinnah's idealistic legacy—as opposed to his political legacy that is inherited by the formal structures of the state and the ruling political party, the Pakistan Muslim League. But, two, neither would it have been possible without the appropriate occasion, in this case the possibility (or possibilities, indeed, infinite possibilities) of the mausoleum as yet unbuilt. What makes these aspirations possible above all is that they are about space, nor just any space but about a monument, not just any monument, but a monument to Jinnah who is seen as belonging to the people much more than he did to the state. In other words, what these texts demonstrate is that in this case the possibility of a monument creates an opportunity for people to express idealism from below. Furthermore, architecture and spatial ideas are the vehicle for putting forward of that vision.

This thesis is thus, an account of idealism of below, addressed to someone who holds and signifies power without being corrupted by it; demanding inclusion in the socio-political representation of the nation at the site of burial and of mapping out the very engagement onto space. Paraphrasing Robert Musil, my entire focus is on the "possible" monument, the monument with infinite possibilities, the monument, as it were, without qualities.

Methodologically, I do not locate the origin of the narrative at the moment of architectural commission. In this regard, this study takes a different tack from the writings of some of the most often cited authors on the topic (particularly Alan Borg and James Young).[3] I do not privilege the "manifest" monument—the monument that will become an actuality, albeit after more than two decades, nor its reception after its inauguration. I, revert instead to an earlier stage: the analysis begins with the occasion that sparked the possibility and thinking of a monument and stops short of the moment when one of the possibilities becomes manifest. In other words, my narrative stops just before the imagination of the individuals concerned was

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displaced from thinking about *the not yet built monument* by the need read new meanings into *the physically existing object*. This is the point that cuts off the earlier processes of contestation and imagination.

This research has potential relevance for three different areas of inquiry. First is the history of the relationship between public space and public commemorative practices. Second is the critically approached South Asian history with its specific focus on the engagement of the popular culture with the emblematic political figures of sub-continental nationalism. Third is the literature on the social and political role of art and architecture in Pakistan (and the post-colonial world in general). I hope that this seemingly small incident and its incidental texts will also have larger meanings for historians of commemoration, South Asia and architecture—where the imaginings of space becomes a vehicle for the people who otherwise would not be able to articulate their ideals through and about space.

This mode of inquiry raises a number of theoretical issues. One is the articulation in these correspondences, which I will call the *pre-construction appropriation*. It problematizes the entanglement of the monument with *strategies* of power and *tactics* of below by illuminating facets of the nature of each. Behind this lies a fundamental question; *how does one gain access to and think about a modern monument in order to be able to understand its nature and to narrate its story?* Monuments, by definition, constitute a special category of public art, erected as markers of special events, persons or ideas in publicly accessible spaces, controlled and mandated by the state.[4] Yet, what defines them continues to remain elusive, an intersection of the influence of the artist, the public, and the state, through processes that vary from context to context. Implicit in this argument for the plurality of the effects on and of monuments is the assumption that architectural history and social study has relevance for each other.

Empirically and methodologically, this work follows from a number of sources of intellectual inspiration. From the writings of the historian, James Young, I take the close empirical reading of players involved and attention to the actual builders, although I do not presume to generalize my conclusions. The more recent work of Mark Jarzombek cautions against the easy slippage in the theorizations of agency and the publicness of public space. But his reminder about history being 'an indisputable metaphysical force in social consciousness'[5]

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[3] See James Young: "Memory and Counter-Memory", in *Harvard Design Magazine*. Cambridge, MA: Fall 1999 and Alan Borg: *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present*, London: Leo Cooper, 1991.

[4] The Oxford Dictionary traces the root of the word monument in an Indo-European source *men-*. Other related derivations from *men-* are mind, comment, reminiscent and demonstrate. The dictionary defines the monument as a three-dimensional structure be it in the form of a sculpture, building, installation or any derivative of these constructed as a memorial. Embodied within its concept is the quality of record, will and thinking. W. J. T. Mitchell defines it as static, stable, fixed and generally rigid item, an inscribed marker.

[5] Mark Jarzombek: "Dresden's New Synagogue and the Problematics of Bauen" in *Thresholds 20*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000.

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also emboldens me to recognize the possibilitarian monuments in these written proofs and the fugitive and ephemeral monuments that always looks to the future, even at this site of death, believing in the existence of possibilities. It is not as if in the optimism in the popular idealisms under study there is oblivion to the overwhelming possibility that something other than their proposals would be built, yet they attend to an expectation that an opportunity may arise where they can take advantage of it. As such the nature of the idealism of below as conceptualized here is very close to the Certeauian notion of the practice of story telling, a *tactic* of ordinary men and women who make the stories their own as they narrate it.

Found in this kind of distinct utopianism are eighteen rich testaments of how ordinary citizens desire the nation into becoming, seizing opportunity by calling the acquired sovereignty into service. In thinking through them, I have restricted myself to a few thematics. The study lets loose a few threads, inviting and provoking further investigation of a project that has not been critically studied before. Programming, spatiality, cultural practices, modernization, representation, signification, and heritage are the thematics that I grapple with through secondary filter of notions of duty, gratitude, gift, debt, time, and mobilizing subjectivity. Though for this vocabulary I have been inspired by the writings of Jacques Derrida, my framework evolves more directly out of the content of the letters.[6]

The structure of this thesis is organized to facilitate a chronological reading of each of the eighteen selected letters. These have been chosen because they are most representative and speak best to the issues that I am most interested in. As they ventured to imagine a center and weave master-fictions, they deepen our understanding of both the nature and content of these possibilitarian monuments. Not knowing what they meant or how they informed Fatima Jinnah, the reading format is designed to share *her optics*, i.e. puts us behind her desk, as she receives each letter. Reading letter by letter, chronologically, like her, we accumulate and thicken our sense of how the possibility of such a monument was received by the common man and what it meant to these writers. Given the fact that these letters were independent writings by individuals, I therefore retain their singularity. I, do, however, relate them to each other in the course of the analysis.

In conclusion, it could be argued that the historical moment of my story is framed by two deaths; "two hypothetical zero hours," pivotal guideposts for stimulating the incidents that make possible my topic of study. Second is the death of Fatima, the addressee; death which liberated the texts out of the private institution of her house, into the public organization of an archive. My inquisition creates another occasion as a virtual moment in the unfolding destiny of the letters. They move from the imbalanced monologue of the weak, demanding the attention of

[6] See bibliography for the writing of Jacques Derrida that have influenced this work.

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the bourgeoisie, in whose hands they perceive their destiny to lie. The current inquiry roads them out of the archive, into the domain of cultural and architectural discourse, whereby they testify to the perceptions of the below, to enter into history, time, and at times simply into citizenship. Everything hinges upon *fantasy* in the service of *reality*. This is a sub-thesis that I develop later in the text.

Fatima Jinnah

Fatima Jinnah (1893-1967), sister of the Quaid-e-Azam, was bestowed with the title of Madar-e-Millat, the Mother of the Nation. She is put forward by many contemporary writers as the epitome of modern Muslim womanhood. Text and history books represent her as the most iconic and influential woman in the political history of Pakistan, a source of strength to her brother during his life, and symbolic of a democratic Pakistan emulating *his* spirit after his death.[7]

The eminent South Asian historian, Ayesha Jalal has called Mohammad Ali Jinnah, (1876-1948) the *Sole Spokesman*[8] of the Muslim interests during the independence movement. After the partition of India, he became the first Governor General of the new state of Pakistan. He was emblematic not only of the resistance against the colonial state, but also of the struggle against the possibility of inequities in its successor states. Yet, paradoxically, Jinnah's struggle has led in fact to the creation of new hierarchies in Pakistan, precisely what he had fought against. This aspect is operative in the correspondences.

Practicing as a dentist in Bombay, Fatima Jinnah gave up her professional career in 1929 to serve as an assistant and chief ally of her brother at a time when his career was at its lowest ebb. This was also the beginning of her political career. In 1940, she partly came into her own when she took on the role of mobilizing women in favor of the League, although during that period she never held or was a candidate for an official position. Fatima Jinnah was the only immediate member of his family to accompany Jinnah to Pakistan in August 1947. Consequently, she is the only fully endorsed member in his family lineage in official history books, which almost never mentions his Parsi wife, Ruttie Jinnah (d. 1929) and his estranged daughter, Dina Wadia.

Later in life, retired and reclusive, Fatima Jinnah once again entered public life, first as a patron of Jinnah's tomb and later in a failed attempt to restore democracy by fighting

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[7] Akbar S. Ahmed: *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
[8] Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

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presidential elections against the first military dictator of Pakistan, Field Marshal Ayub Khan in 1964.

The Fatima Jinnah Papers

After her death in 1967, Fatima Jinnah's heirs consigned all the possessions of her last house to the government of Pakistan. In the passage from one institution to another two—from her house to the museum of Pakistan history and the Government of Pakistan National archives—the state's inheritance was divided into documents and non-documents.

In 1995, the archive designed a ten-year project, whereby the acquired material would be re-organized through a rigorous process of unification, identification and classification. Titled *The Fatima Jinnah Papers*, the project initiated a series of publications. The authorities also assigned different values to various documents, classifying them as meaningful, applicable, and self-explanatory knowledge. One of these files, comprising eighty-nine pages containing the 36 letters understudy, is indexed in this series as 'Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum', file number 518, R/1/17/89 under the sub-category of 'Heritage and Culture.'

The bureaucratic processing of the private and personal documents of Fatima Jinnah for public use is where the bureaucratically controlled archive interpretation draws its limits. The publications without any critical mediations and lenses do have some value. Yet, one ought to be aware that the seemingly objective and empirical interpretive lenses of the guardians of archive shape the material of an inquiry to a large extent. The archive is a construct that has both its strengths and weaknesses and no work can claim to be independent of its mark. The most conspicuous limitation is posed by the size of the representative sample—only thirty-six letters in sixteen years. We know from various sources that there were additional letters that might have given a richer understanding of the idealisms of below as they engage the architectural and public space. The lack of documentation of Fatima Jinnah's response to these envois is another factor that shapes the study. However, it is possible that subsequent research will help identify other references catalogued or archived elsewhere.

The Images

By all accounts,[3] Jinnah's Mausoleum was expected by the nation to be more than picturesque reflection of interminable political conflicts or freedom yet to be fully realized. The representation was to give a new foundation and reassurance that the conditions for sovereignty, nationhood and becoming could be met. With the eventual fall of the 'master-fiction' of the foreign rule, undermined for much over three-quarters of a century, having

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retained institutional and managerial traces of the colonial legacy—the new nation set out to scavenge on tradition, culture and modernization in an attempt to find new ways of putting its world together. Jinnah was a central figure in their political cosmos. In Pakistan, the question of the mausoleum continued to arouse concern and apprehension, for in their continued search for a utopia, neither Fatima Jinnah, nor the concerned citizens could conceive it to be merely representation of power, one that did not *include* them. The crises was not of representation but what and how to represent, what vocabulary to deploy and how to include the dreams and desires of the truly singular voices of its users and contemplators. By demanding a representation of the people and their complex introjective relation to Jinnah, with all the ambivalence and ambiguity that that representation entailed, the letters open up new questions and possibilities of government. These questions though a central concern of the idealisms of below are, however, not restricted to the engagement of these letters with the space of the monument, but rather sound their echoes in all segments of Pakistani society.

The radical utopianism attached to the cause for Pakistan did not wane with the death of Jinnah, but what was lost were the guarantees of the fulfillment of promises vested in the person of Jinnah. Each of the letters reviewed in this study testifies in its own way to the attempts to grapple with the promises, some made, some projected—by mapping them onto the grave of Jinnah. Once mapped, the dissemination into other spheres of social and political life would follow. The role of the state vis-à-vis the mausoleum in these narrations is not as a representation of its power, but as a facilitator for turning the face of the monument to the people. The result is to make Jinnah's mausoleum into two distinct things for these writers. First, it was a tool for public *communication* with the government, amongst themselves and in certain cases with the international community. Second, a *reassurance* that what was or should have been promised could be delivered upon.

The Mausoleum and the State

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's mausoleum in Karachi was eventually inaugurated in 1971, 23 years after his death. Today, another three decades later, it is still incomplete. The mausoleum itself is absolutely simple from a distance, yet exuberant in its use of material and complex in its detailing when viewed up close. Everything about the monument—the site, the master plan, the architectural scale, the location on a natural mount further elevated artificially, the clean and bold lines, the white color reminiscent of purity as

[9] See *The Daily Dawn*, *Morning Star*, minutes of QMF official meetings between 1949 to 1971, official brochures and publications.

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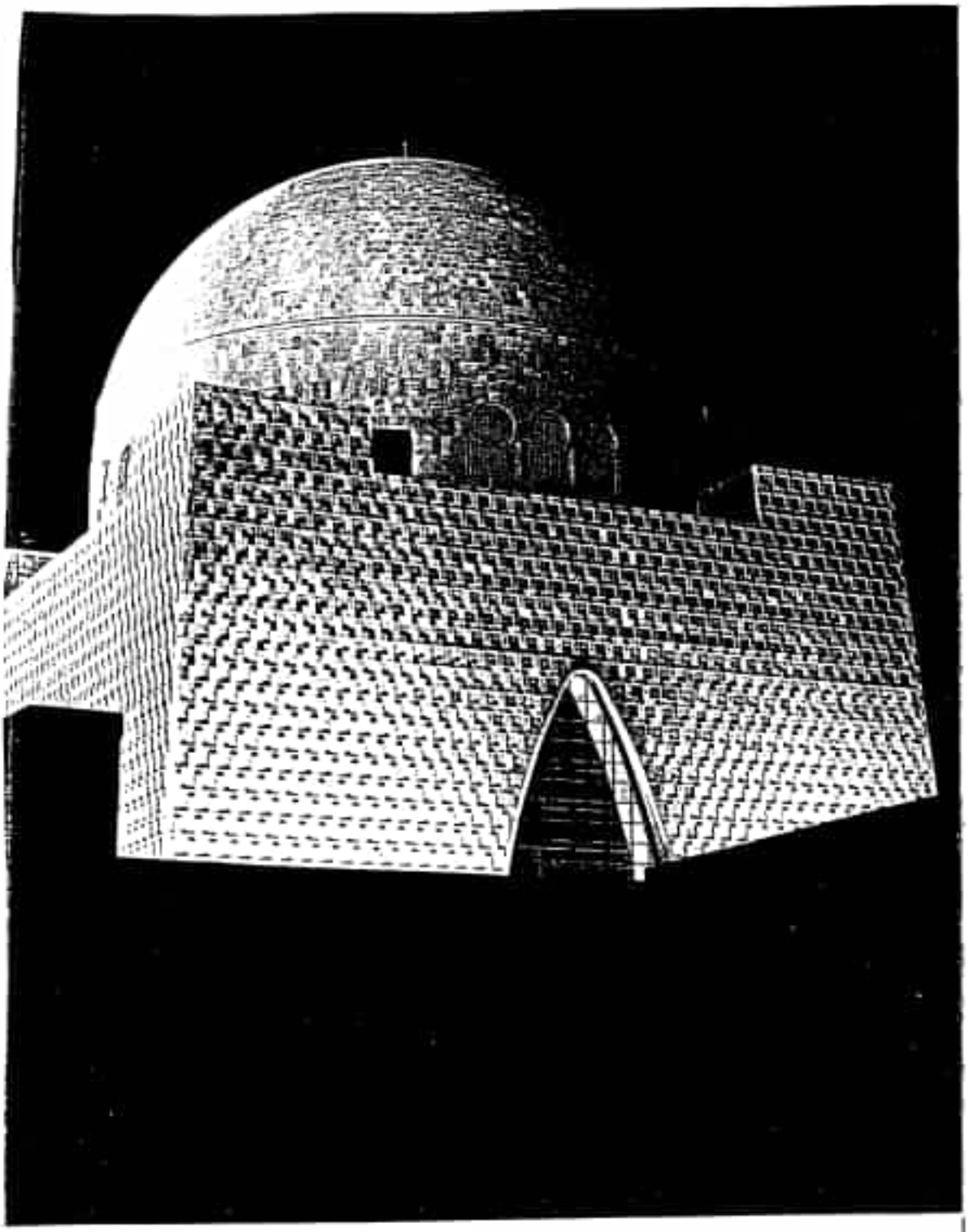

Figure II: Jinnah's Mausoleum, 1971, exterior.

in Ahmed Hasan Dani: *The Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum in Pictures*, Islamabad: Ministry of Education Press, 1976.

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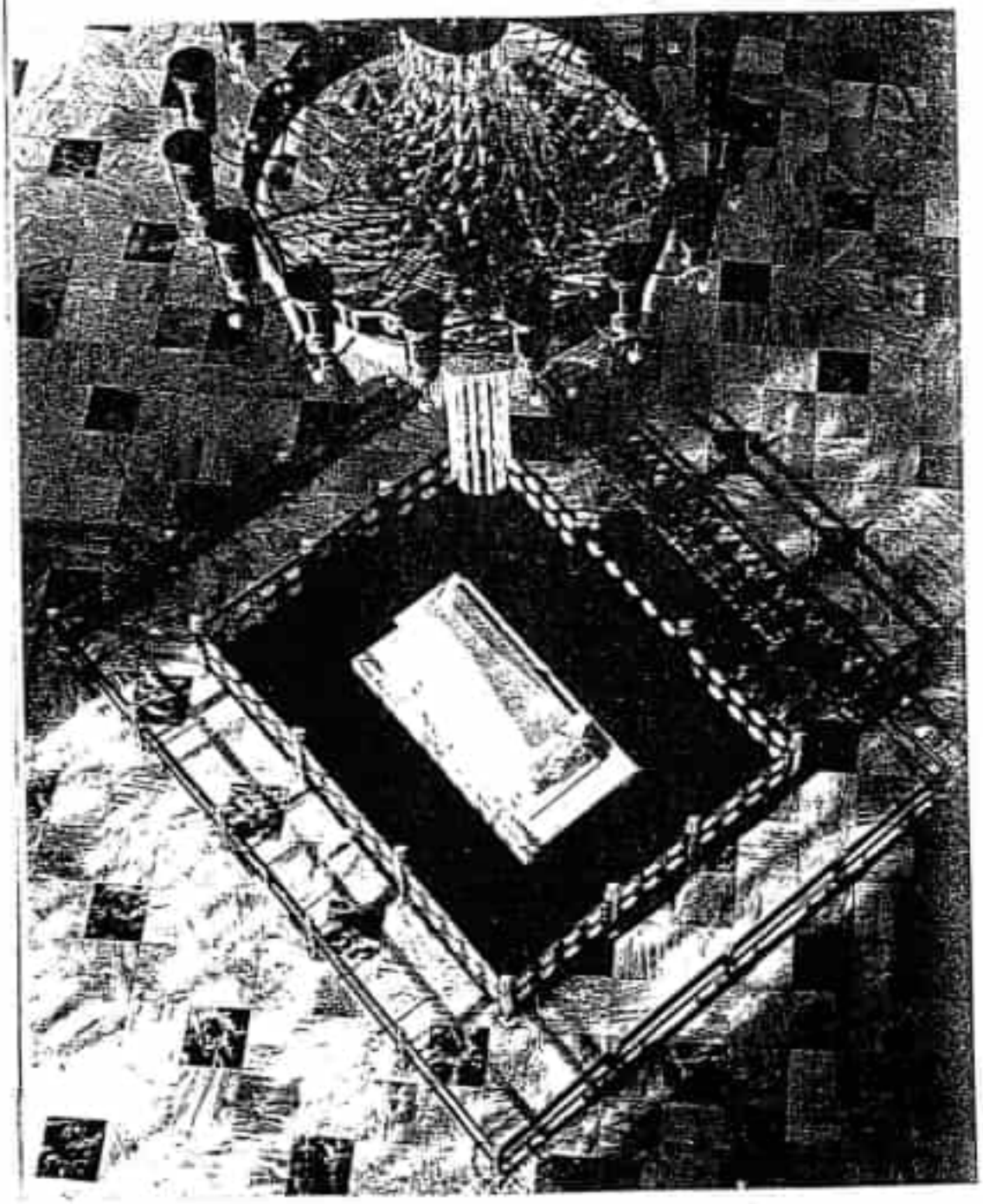

Figure III: Jinnah's Mausoleum, 1971, interior.

in Ahmed Hasan Dani: *The Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum in Pictures*, Islamabad: Ministry of Education Press, 1976.

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well as of the immanent prototype of the Taj Mahal[10], and the pure geometric forms—appear to be designed so as to contribute to the projection of Jinnah as a larger than life figure (see figure II and III). Ahmed Hasan Dani, a leading intellectual characterizes the role of the off-centered location of the tomb on the site coupled with the structure on the platform as:

> contrived to make the visitors, who are stepping up the path, feel the grandeur of the monument and realize the greatness of the man buried higher up.[11]

Yet, one can also sense a kind of ambivalence towards the monument. One hint of such ambivalence comes from the inexplicable delay in the construction of the edifice and in the completion of the complex within which it is housed. Another hint comes from popular attitudes towards it, which mix adoration and indifference in paradoxical ways. In the summer of 2000, in the month of August—when the celebratory mood over the anniversary of independence is at its peak—I interviewed forty-five people both formally and informally about their perceptions of the monument. The respondents generally sidetracked the question and their answers went on one tangent or another. In the end, I came to realize the inadequacy of the questions I was asking, as well as the importance of this inadequacy to a study of the monument.

The architect of the built project, Yahya Merchant was a Bombay-based architect and a personal friend of Jinnah. The design was duly approved—an edifice in white marble, a secular building in a hybrid style, with no reference to a mosque or other religious overtones. It is built on a platform elevated above the plinth level, which was already one of the highest points in the city of Karachi.

With three out of four of its corners juxtaposing traffic rotaries, the mausoleum of Mohammad Ali Jinnah in Pakistan's largest metropolis, asserts itself on the vast site in the dense urban tissue. A central complex of 64 acres surrounded by another 50 acres of offices, ancillary buildings and research centers, occupies some of the most expensive real estate in the country. The meeting, merging and intersecting roads around it are the major arteries of the city; the slowing traffic around them renders the mausoleum a multiple orientational device. According to Dani, it is not only an inspirational and a spiritual landmark but an urban one too; it inspires hope in the beholder who is in the distance:

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[10] Though the trope of Taj Mahal pervades the entire body of literature and discourse on the mausoleum, its form is based on Tughlaq's tomb—a 15th century edifice in Delhi.

[11] Ahmed Hasan Dani, *The Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum in Pictures*. Islamabad: Ministry of Education Press, 1976, p. 3. The author, Pakistan's best-known archaeologists, has written many essays that seem to represent the establishment view of recent history.

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> A visitor, driving around sees the monument from all angles and while paying tribute to the memory of the Great Leader, he praises the perfect symmetry of the building, which Yahya Merchant designed for it....
>
> The Quaid while alive guided the destiny of the Muslims of the sub-continent and now in his permanent abode looks around his own city of love and watches over the future activity of the nation that he created.[12]

These are telling passages. They reveal, in the very least, how the state views this complex and its functions. They underscore the doubly transformative impact of the proximity of the mausoleum, both by its immediacy and by the obligatory circulation around it. A half-attentive passer-by is transformed into a visitor with a contemplative gaze—but only an educated contemplator of architecture and (Pakistani) history, assumed to have general knowledge of the permanent abode of Jinnah and his place in history.

While the structure of mausoleum was completed in 1971, the larger project (which includes the landscaping and development the land around the edifice) remains incomplete to date. Its program is still undetermined, evolving and transforming, growing and shrinking with each fiscal year or new government. In the past eleven years, eleven different Prime Ministers have inaugurated the landscape project. In 1999, when General Musharraf's military government took over, this was one of the few on going projects in the country.

A Note on the Translation

A few words on translation. I have translated seven letters from Urdu to English, appended at the end along with copies of the originals. The translation is a provisional one. Among other customs of use of Urdu is certain degree of servitude in addressing. This aspect is further highlighted when the texts address an iconic figure like Fatima Jinnah. Much of this expression is lost in the displacing operations of translations. One must, therefore, be cautious because if translations are analyzed without taking the modes of operation into consideration, they could be misleading. In my analysis, I therefore, quote from the English versions, but though am attentive to it, I do not pay hermeneutic attention to the exact choice of words and construction of sentences. I have taken the risk of employing my judgment for the identification of portions of writing that lend themselves to a closer "hermeneutic analysis" and those that

[12] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

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must be recognized as part of a "hieroglyphic system."[13] The later is so deeply encrypted within the linguistic culture, that it demands a different set of reading tools, I refrain from engaging. To be constrained by the inner logic in the original still remains the rule of translation, even if the original itself is constructed by the structure of deeply engrained cultural dynamics, which Derrida along with Maria Torok and Nicolas Abraham calls a "cryptomythic" system. The concept is particularly instructive for my translations and analysis alike, for it synthesizes the convoluted constructions of the self, be it individual or collective, the role of mediations, simulations, and trace along with the idea of fiction and reality.

[13] Maria Torok and Nicolas Abraham: *The Wolfman's Magic Word: A Cryptonymy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, pp. xxiii.

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MAIN BODY TEXT

All political authority requires what Clifford Geertz calls a "cultural frame" or "master fiction" in which to define itself and make its claims. The legitimacy of political authority depends on its resonance with more global, even cosmic cultural presuppositions for political life is "enfolded" in general conceptions of how reality is constituted. Many anthropologists and sociologists insist, in addition, that every frame has a "center" which has sacred status. The sacred center makes possible, a kind of social mapping, its gives, the members of a society their sense of place. It is the place where culture, society and politics come together.[14]

In the case of Pakistan, Islam provides the content for the master-fiction. As Ayesha Jalal has suggested in her work, Jinnah spent his entire political career to approximate what such a center could be and how to approximate at it. It was within the personal image of the leader that the past and the future were attempted to be reconciled. It was here where the boundaries between the culture, society and politics blurred. The *master fiction* within which his legitimacy was inscribed is rooted in the notion of what has come to be understood of the 'Ideology of Pakistan;' a notion inextricable from modern ideas about Islam in South Asia. Only thirteen months after Iqbal's dream[15] was realized, in 1948, this revolutionary leader died. He died from an ailment that was kept a secret from all but his closest associates, so as not to divert any from the urgent process of "nation building." Jinnah like Gandhi, Nasser, Sukarno, Ben Bella was gone much before facing even the possibility of being reduced to a mere head of a state. The center hence remained available for the master-fiction to be inscribed on it, cut into it and woven around it.

The corporal death of Jinnah, nevertheless, splintered the physicality of the approximated center into memories of his visions, achievements and teachings, the faceless ubiquity of the nation, his sister Fatima Jinnah and the state. This diffusion necessitated some kind of unity of representation. Its responsibility once again fell upon the "body-proper" of Jinnah, this time on the space where he was "encrypted"—"a topographical arrangement made to keep (conserve-hidden) the living dead." [16]

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[14] Clifford Geertz: "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in Joseph Ben-David and Terry Nichols Clark, (eds.), *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*. Chicago: 1977, pp. 150-71.

[15] Mohammad Iqbal had articulated the two-nation theory much before it was taken up as a political agenda by All Indian Muslim League in the 1940.

[16] Maria Torok and Nicolas Abraham: *The Wolfman's Magic Word: A Cryptonymy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, p.xii.

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The *idea* of the tomb presented an opportunistic moment to the state where the potent *lieux de memoire* had the power to sustain diversion. The focus of the nation on Jinnah's extraordinary-ness will turn attention away from the ordinary-ness of his less confident heirs and their inability to deliver on the near-millennial hopes of political salvation invested in the hands of the single leader.

Numerous efforts were made to act upon a more general desire for memorial building that resided within the people as well. The echoes of small and singular voices making their way through local body meetings, newspapers and private correspondences very quickly took the shape of a chorus that only gained momentum. The state arrested this moment and designed an initiative for collecting and channeling the funds towards the first national monument in stone.

The high profile committee, namely Quaid-e-Azam Memorial Fund (QMF) had originally approved to erect four memorials to the legacy of Jinnah. This was in 1952. These included the mausoleum and a Friday mosque on the same site in Karachi, a Dar-ul-Islam in Punjab and a University of Science and Technology in Bengal.[17] Still it was the mausoleum that captured the national imagination and generated most enthusiasm. The nation and state alike, perceived its erection as the most urgent and important. In 1954, the QMF under one leadership hired an Indian architect who was dismissed for his design could not arouse a consensus on the appropriate image among the committee members. In 1955, a Turkish architect was hired whose design was too elaborate, "almost despotic."[18] In 1957, under General Ayub Khan, an international competition was organized for the design of the mausoleum whose program had now expanded to a mausoleum complex. It was won by an English architect William Whitfield.[19]

All these successive efforts failed to raise anything above the ground. For all the circumstantial differences, one aspect is strikingly common in all these *procedures* undertaken by different governments. And that is the particular mode of state's identification with the image of Jinnah.

I would argue that what surfaces in these designs is representative of a process of introjection[20], which maintains the otherness of the other for safe-keeping within the self. It is a kind of careful devouring of Jinnah, as an object that enables the enlargement of the Self. The once intact center is swallowed by one of the splintered parts, in this case the state, which can be

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[17] S. R Ghauri: "Humble Symbol of Gratitude", Editor Altaf Hussain, *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi: 12 Sept. 1962.
[18] Zahir-ud Deen Khwaja: *Memoirs of an Architect*. Lahore: Printhouse, 1998, p. 63.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Maria Torok and Nicolas Abraham: The Wolfman's Magic Word: A Cryptonymy. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

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spit out whenever need be, as if to announce, *'we dare not claim to personify sacred Jinnah, Quaid-e-Azam, we are merely his students and our political authority rests on following him.'*

I borrow this notion of introjection from Maria Torok for it allows an understanding of Jinnah as an event in the lives of the nation, included, not only as an object into the self but also the instincts and the desires attached to it. The self "does not retreat, it advances, propagates itself, assimilates and takes over."[21] It is this containment of the principle/ residue/ person of Jinnah in its uncontaminated form, which generates the legitimacy of the political authority within the *cultural frame* of Pakistan's society.

Fatima Jinnah, the sister, most closely associated with the personal side of Jinnah's political legacy both during his life and after his death, is an important actor for her role in delaying the state's attempts to lift the monument off the ground. She took upon herself the role of a public proctor of QMF and remained critical of both the procedure and the design outcomes of that procedure.

She challenged the state for undermining the representational essence of the tomb. A design with the best of intentions could not claim to be carried out in the name of the people if it was conceived in the quarantine chambers of QMF. She bitterly campaigned against the acceptance of Whitfield's successful proposal on every account—the international jury, the English architect, his pastiche design that on the one hand evoked too close an identity with the Penn Railway Station, New York in its composition and, on the other hand with the imperialist Mughal pleasure gardens in detail.[22] This would betray everything Jinnah stood for. Yet the most important criticism was the manner in which the nation's relationship to Jinnah figured in these top down impositions.

Frustrated by the failed attempts to deliver the project he had sworn to "get done," General Ayub Khan handed over to Fatima Jinnah with QMF as the supporting infrastructure the responsibility to execute the project.

Much before becoming an official patron of the mausoleum, i.e. weeks after his death, Fatima, had began receiving private letters regarding the tomb from all over the nation, mainly concerned with the symbolic qualities of the final abode of their beloved Quaid-e-Azam. These were accompanied by another category of letters that simply demanded answers. Anxious writers conceived Fatima Jinnah to be the obvious addressee who should be able to let them know how the things were unfolding?

Not being able to answer many of these questions in a press release published in *The Pakistan Times*, 1949, Fatima Jinnah requested all inquiries regarding the late Quaid-e-Azam

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[21] Ibid, p. xvi.

[22] Khwaja, Zahir-ud Deen: *Memoirs of an Architect*. Lahore: Printhouse, 1998, p. 65. Khwaja, tells us in an interview that it was under the influence of a local engineer, that began the rumor.

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memorial to be directed to the central government committee of the Quaid-e-Azam Memorial Fund (QMF). Under some misconception, she said a number of people had been making inquiries from her in this regard, a matter that is in the hands of the Government. Yet she invited designers to send her proposals, with the intimation that a selection will be made from amongst them.

Directing the questions to the Government, she invited only the answers, so the most appropriate suggestion could be chosen from within them.

In 1949, with no established definition of what constituted a designer, many who wrote for the next quarter century, with the intention to influence to final outcome, wrote, first trying to qualify their design with rich arguments if they considered themselves to fall out of any acceptable definition of architectural designers. As a result we have responses from carpenters, artists, contractors, architects, on the one hand and poets, school children, merchants, residents in the neighboring colony of the burial grounds, on the other hand with different set of concerns.

Similar to the state, Fatima Jinnah's endeavor was also introjective, whereby the Jinnah was reappropriated indeed only as an other, lest his memory was desecrated. What she stood against was the state's claim to occupy the entire space in the name of the people. She adamantly advocated for the inclusion of the voices of the people, their concerns, debts and hopes, as if it was these that would guarantee the transmigration of the symbol into a monument. For she believed the true legacy of the Jinnah not to be so much the creation of the nation-state, as the imagination of a dispersed people as a nation, converting them into one and many at once, hence democratizing the society. She had no institutional framework to bring this ambitious process to fruition, but she began by sending out an invitation to the nation to forward their ideas, drawings and recommendations to her and QMF.

In the invitation there was already an indication to gravitate to the center. The following is the story of what different respondents conceived a center to which one directed one's attempts.

The following section will concentrate on a set of these letters, I discovered in the Government of Pakistan, national archives in Islamabad. Perhaps a random sampling of what has made its way into the archive, the thirty-six letters, I attempt to decipher, delineate only male imaginings of the monument. This section approaches each of these personal monuments, fugitive and ephemeral monuments, as examples of how a society thinks the imagery of radicalism by going back to its religious roots.

These letters together are then working drawings of how a society applies its cultural values to weave its master fiction, a new society.

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They poured in since Quaid's death and kept arriving till Fatima loss in the presidential elections in 1965.

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THE LETTERS

Abdul Qayum Khan

Letter by Abdul Qayum Khan to Fatima Jinnah, 25th August 1949, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 1. Translated by Shundana Yusaf.

On 25-August-1949, Abdul Qayyum, a general merchant who worked in the city sent a letter to Fatima Jinnah (see appendix II).[23] He was a resident living in the vicinity of the great exhibition grounds in Karachi, a site that within the short period of two years had undergone two radical transformations of its role. Located on the outskirts of the existing, but quickly expanding city, the exhibition grounds had overnight turned into a state-sponsored squatter settlement to house some of the hundreds and thousands of people arriving each day into the city from what very recently had been declared as *India proper*. The siting of Jinnah's mausoleum once again elevated its status, but this time to an absolutely incomparable plane. From the performance of the noble task of delivering a fundamental necessity like housing shelters for the migrants, the grounds were given a new heroic persona as the site of Jinnah's burial, the site of the *father's* encryptment and splintered image. Qayyum wrote:

> As a result of living right across from the *mazaar* (tomb) of our beloved Quaid-e-Azam, I have been wondering for a while, why should a *madrasa* (religious or regular school) or a mosque not be constructed here. Even if (the construction) proceeds at an ordinary rate, at least some of the work can get done. And the *madrasa* is particularly important, so that the generations to come can be mentored.[24]

What makes the mosque and *madrasa* into interchangeable institutions, either in function or in their value? I would suggest that for Qayyum, the mosque is not a venue for mere ritual, where believers collect and offer their prayers. His focus lies on the corollary of prayers, its promise of social good. It is the promise of contemplation and thinking, of enlightenment, of coming together, getting in touch, and forming a community. Thinking so, its other "proper" venue is the *madrasa* that he wants to witness rising out of the site.

The futurity in the author's logic at the site of death is distinct and tied to the effects of proximity. The relations of vicinity are important in this *application* to 'Fatima Jinnah *Sahiba*.'

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[23] Letter by Haji Abdul Rahim Abdul Qayum Khan to Fatima Jinnah, 25th August 1949, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 1. Translated by Shundana Yusaf.
[24] Ibid.

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Opening his letter apologetically, he writes. 'Please pardon me for daring to write (the letter). (I) tried to endure for sometime, but now could not bear any longer.'[25] Just as his often encounter with the grave eventually induced him to write, the proximity of the mosque or *madrasa* to the mausoleum will perform the function of a powerful and pivotal guide to its regular visitors. As praying believers, the construction of one of these institutions will insure continued visitation to the mausoleum by future generations as students. Having not had the privilege of knowing Jinnah in person, the lack could be supplemented by education at the site of his burial. In Qayyum's estimate, the daily visits are crucial, for they are the best means of facilitating the spirit of Jinnah to have a continued presence in the future of the nation.

He argues that in this way, the future youth would be kept in check against taking or following a wrong path. In other words, the knowledge of Jinnah's corpse being in such close proximity to the educational institution of a mosque or *madrasa* would deter from diversions. Reference and classification of the human element will emanate from here. In other words, Jinnah's mazar will be a site from where law will be given in addition to citizenry standards.

As such, Qayyum's letter brings desires attached to the idea of Jinnah to the site of entombment, irrespective of the fact of whether or not the secular personal and political image of Jinnah entailed and accommodated them. Qayyum does not perceive the location of the Jinnah's grave as a space where things could be found because they were inserted there by plan and design of the decision making public authorities to serve their political and personal agendas. Rather, his imagination seems to be closer to Gaston Bachlard's phenomenological notion of space where things (objects and actions) find their natural position and rest.[26]

In his idealism, Qayyum is making a new Jinnah. A mosque or a *madrasa* that will be built conceptually and symbolically on the principles of Jinnah's legacy will also help return to his principles. What is at stake here is not only and simply a conceptualization of Jinnah represented through the reconceptualization of the space of the extension but the nation (space of arrangement) and country (space of localization) is implicated within it. Jinnah determined them, but now it is them who decide what will become of Jinnah.

Pir Azmat Ali Shah

Letter by Pir Azmat Ali Shah, Chief Dictator Junno Robbi Poor Muslim League of World to Fatima Jinnah, 10th January 1951, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 2.

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Gaston Bachlard: *The Poetics of Space*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

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Pir Azmat Ali Shah commences his letter to 'the mother' with the narration of a dream. While he remembers the precise date of the dream, its description is sketchy and sparse.

> In 17th November 1948 I dreamt Quaid-e-Azam with my father late Pir Syed Yaqoob Ali Shah and my grand father Pir Syed Safiali Shah. I saw in dream Quaid-e-Azam, *saying* to my father, and grand father to instruct me to make a "Fatiha Khwani Darbar" for the peace of my soul and for Pakistan and for the glory of Islam (sic).[27]

Unlike other public commentators who were writing for newspapers and journals, what is described here is not Quaid-e-Azam's desire for a mausoleum. He does not ask for a grand gesture that will add prominence to the grave. Nor does he demand the creation of a "memory trigger" for reminding the nation of their debt and responsibility to Jinnah. Rather, he asks for a *fatiha khwani darbar* (see appendix III).

The *darbar* is a chamber traditionally found near or adjutant to sufi *dargahs* (complex). It is used to offer prayers for the souls of the dead and oblations in the name of saints. It transforms visitors into pilgrims.[28] Belonging to the sphere of popular culture, they are also the venues of *urs* (anniversary celebrations) and other festivities attached to the complex—often blurring the lines between consecrated rituals and a carnival. On these few days, men and women, old and young, rulers and beggars come from near and far and participate alike.[29]

In addition to *urs*, such *darbars* often function as soup kitchens, attracting travelers, students, and the hungry daily and weekly. On Friday nights devotional practices are included recitation of Quran, offering of prayers, chanting, dancing and drinking all in the same premises. A *fatiha khwani darbar* as a part of a *dargah* exhibits the characteristics of a special place of localization that is at once a utopia and heterotopia, as conceptualized by Michel Foucault.[30] It is saturated with extra-worldly qualities, yet fully entrenched and emerging from within the very worldly dimension of human existence. Social hierarchies, taboos and boundaries are suspended,

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[27] Letter by Pir Azmat Ali Shah, Chief Dictator Junno Robbi Poor Muslim League of World to Fatima Jinnah, 10th January 1951, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 2.

[28] The concept of *fatiha* is equivalent to the Roman Catholic Pater Noster.

[29] See Ali, Shah Mubarak, *Lahore: Architectural Remains*, Lahore: Oriental Publishers, 1892, p. 99, for Edward Fane's late 19th century description of Ali Hajveri's *urs* in Lahore. It is a typical description of a sub-continental *urs* even today. "The narrow lane was packed with young and old, bearded and shaven and mustached, turbaned, capped and bareheaded. People with bundles and bedding on their shoulders, on heads. People who had brought their young to be blessed, who had come to pray long nights and who knew all would be provided. Drummers and tongs-players were led by youth who danced and pranced and whirled. There were some in green with bangles on their hands and chains on their ankles that churned the air with their long hair and the vigorous tossing of their heads. Groups of aspiring Sufis chanted "Allah-hu" in unison. Some sported empty milk containers, others bags in the hope of filling them at the langar-kana, the charity kitchen." While this is a typical description of the mood of the *urs*, the scope and scale of activities varies, depending on the popularity of the saints.

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neutralized or temporarily reconfigured in such a space. It does not challenge the set of relations operative beyond it. It just silently holds up a mirror to them because it escapes their penetration into its boundaries. Still faithful to Foucault's metaphor of the mirror that he uses to conceptualize spaces that share the qualities of a utopia and a heterotopia, the *dargah* allows one to see oneself where one is not, a new typography. Foucault delineates mirror as 'an unreal space that opens up the potentially beyond its surface...a sort of shadow that makes ones appearance visible to oneself'.[31] At the same time it partakes the qualities of a real space, of a heterotopia, within which one finds oneself absent from the place where one is, in that one sees oneself there.

It is through such a localization, one that operates between the fictional and real space, that Shah's text locates his agency and brings it to the attention of Fatima Jinnah. I would argue that this interpretation of the characteristics of a *fatiha khani darbar* is aligned with my conception of idealisms from below that speaks mainly through its silence and the evasiveness of that silence.

The content of the letter suggests that Pir Azmat Ali Shah is a political prisoner who finds himself excluded from the political utopia of post-independence Pakistan. The prose of his letter employs an array of mechanisms of approach to engage his reader. In addressing the idealism of *above*, his own proposal partakes of the qualities of the *mother* engaged in a dialogue in the process making it its own. A space of primary perception, of dreams, of desires, the *fatiha khwani darbar* of Quaid-e-Azam is his entry point back into society. This special middle space positioned between the utopia and heterotopia initiates him back into society.

The networking of references betrays the writer's nearness to his own writing. However, it does not mean that by attending to the signals given by the protocols of writing to Fatima Jinnah, the aspiration lets his recommendation be destroyed by it. Instead, one can read the letter as an attempt to take advantage of the opportunity provided by the presence of the person of Fatima Jinnah and the possibility of a monument to Jinnah. Hence, it is a conception of a space that facilitates his induction. The rhetoric of attachment bespeaks the power relations written into the addressal by a deviant son to the mother. From out of Shah's immediate and extended surroundings in the Karachi jail, a whole assembly of witnesses are stipulated, along with a tactic of testifying. The comrade in hunger strike, the doctor who examines them, the jailer, guards and other inmates are forwarded as his witnesses. Anyone can be cut off any time: witnesses testify by interrupting, butting in, taking the words out of each other's mouth, confirming his innocence and credence by cross-checking. His dream narrative recites a vision of Jinnah addressing (saying) his respectable ancestors so as to *instruct* Shah to make a space for

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[30] Foucault, Michel, 'Utopias and Heterotopias' in *Rethinking Architecture, A Reader in Cultural Theory*, edited by Neil Leach, London, New York: 1997.
[31] Ibid., p. 352.

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the 'peace of my (Jinnah's) soul and Pakistan and glory of Islam.' The doctor and his comrade in *jahad-ul-nafs* that appear in the content of the letter are maneuvered as alibis of his loyalty and respect for the deceased leader. He declares his acceptance and recognition of Jinnah's political victory over his rebel party. And finally the declaration of his desire and promise surfaces as the most important proof. 'I can shed my blood for the Muslims and State and I have full confidence in the leadership of H.E. Khwaja Nizamuddin and Hon'ble Liaqat Ali Khan and Hon'ble Khwaja Shahabuddin.'[32]

Repeated proclamations of willing servitude 'I...hope that you will manage my staying in Karachi at Quaid-e-Azam's mazaar as their *"Khadim"* (servant) is a personal guarantee complementing the witnessing of his sincerity. ' I shall sacrifice my life with followers for your self any moment.' ' Insha-allah Kashmir lekar rahen ge. (With the will of Allah, we will take Kashmir.'[33]

The presence of the first person singular, the severe subjectivity of 'I' littered through the text, in this case, is an inadequate guarantee of the writer's own voice, of an unmediated agency, of free will.

Noorbhoy S. Esmailjee

Letter by Noorbhoy S. Esmailjee, Hyderabadwala, government contractor and supplier to Fatima Jinnah, 25th July 1951, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 4.

> I have always been a strong supporter and an admirer of your late brother, the Quaid-e-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah, who alone single handed against whole Hindu Nation and many Muslim opponents, was responsible for bringing about this Great Muslim State of Pakistan into being.[34]

M. Noorbhoy S. Esmailjee's letter is datable even if did not have a date (see appendix IV). It reflects a frame of mind of a particularly short moment in sub-continental history. The modes of anchoring, the insertions of signs, the nature of its patriotic statements are indicative. One can easily state that from late 50's onwards,[35] the kind of declaration were read in the above

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[32] Letter by Pir Azmat Ali Shah, Chief Dictator Junno Robbi Poor Muslim League of World to Fatima Jinnah, 10th January 1951, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 3.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Noorbhoy S. Esmailjee, Hyderabadwala, government contractor and supplier to Fatima Jinnah, 25th July 1951, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 4.
[35] With the increase in military hostility between Pakistan and its neighboring India, the terms of reference solidify into India vs. Pakistan.

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letter was not possible anymore. The statement above is emblematic of the immediate post-partition period, when ambivalence about Jinnah was still in the air and can be spoken of (even though almost always to reaffirm his political strategies and to express one's gratitude and support, distinguishing oneself from the skeptics.) The memory of Jinnah's Muslim critics both within and outside the Muslim majority provinces in the sub-continent had not yet faded. Another identifying characteristic of the time is that the difference between "us" and "them" was still perceived in terms of "Muslims" and "Hindus", not *Pakistanis* and *Indians*. In other words, the borders between the two nation-states had not yet fully sealed in the minds of at least the Pakistani citizens. Though the Hindu-Muslim dichotomy surfaces in public discourse even today, it is faded in most circles, except for a few speaking from within religious institutions.

The drawing attached with Esmailjee's letter refers to the conception of a space that reduces architectural markers to a minimum. He dissolves the limiting and excluding space of a Friday mosque that was proposed and approved by Quaid-e-Azam Memorial Fund to be built on the same site as the mausoleum. Without referring to its sectarian nature, he undermines its approval by suggesting an alternative appropriation of the site of burial with a more expansive, conflict free space of a garden, 'evening strolling site,' open to all. The persuasive power of his recommendation lies in its ability to be less sectarian without loosing its religious functions. In proposing an alternative to a Friday mosque, he still satisfies those who in addition to national, want to assign religious aura to the site. He is able to do this, by presenting the 'evening strolling site' as a space that lends itself on the special occasions of two *eids* (annual Islamic festivals) each year, to the sacred conversion for collective prayers, i.e. 'reserved for *eid* prayers'.[36] The leveled gardens will reserve the grounds for *eid* prayers, safeguard the space for the sacred use. There is no mention of any architectural markers—only the *mazaar*. He only mentions green pedestal lights in the four-corners of the site.

Given the anonymity of the writers, In spite of the fact that each of our eighteen letters is signed by a particular person, with a specific address, they remain historically anonymous to the historian. In order to understand contextualize a suggestion like Esmailjee's we have either official and media sources or the archival file number 518 to depend on. Comparison between different letters is one method of deepening our perception. Here we will compare the legitimizing characteristics employed by Esmailjee with those of Shah. The striking difference between their strategies of approach is symptomatic of something more than just difference in their social status. It is also telling of the positioning of the self vis-à-vis the normative perceptions of citizenry in the post-independence Pakistan. To distinguish himself and give

[36] Ibid.

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weight to his proposal for the *mazaar*, Esmailjee, for example peppers his text with eulogistic and positioning statements. 'I have always been a supporter and admirer,' 'being his admirer, I am frequently visiting his mazaar,' 'retired but experienced Govt., Railway and Building contractor,' 'being an experienced building contractor, I have drawn up a sketch,' 'I have also consulted PWD Engineers near the Mazaar on several occasions.'[37]

He forwards his expert advice by first establishing himself as a social actor and presents himself as a concerned citizen discerning the significance of Jinnah's representation through the mazaar. This coupled with his expertise as a building contractor who has experience of working with the government can be read as a way of giving weight to his suggestion. It is in the imagining of his role and rightful status, that he is the furthest from Shah's tailoring of a self-image—a self-willing *khadim*, a servant. But if we push a little further through the cracks in the text, we see a significant commonality between the two. Like Shah, Esmailjee's dispatch signals to the displacement and transference of an anxiety marking an unexpected closeness between the two addressees. Mute in the latter's insistence on admiration and loyalty to Jinnah is the anxiety over the indeterminacy of belonging, of rightful citizenship, whose guarantee is very much rooted in the person of Jinnah. We have encountered an equivalent phenomenon in Shah's appeal earlier.

The delicate balance between respect and confidence exhibited in Esmailjee's tone forecloses the comprehension of the fragility of the insular Bohra and Khoja communities. The name and the Gujrati signature suggests that Esmailjee belongs to one of the two communities. Jinnah himself a Bohra, had made a whole career out of the desire to represent the Muslims, a religious minority in the Indian sub-continent. But after his death, the religion based narratives of the ideology of Pakistan, no longer guaranteed the acceptance of their citizenship. It is ironic that the two sister communities whose leaders strictly refrained them from political engagement looked upon Jinnah as *their* leader. He was one who had risen to success from within them, had transcended the denominational characterization, and had grown to lead all the Muslims of the sub-continent. With most of the non-Muslims being persecuted or scared to flee during the violent separation of 1947, one could now recognize signs of the animosity turning inwards. With the absence of the person of Jinnah from the immediate post-partition political scene, the Khojas and the Bohras feared being targeted in Pakistan. Its provisional constitution left little room for anyone who did not enter him or herself in the census surveys as a Sunni Muslim. These two minority communities felt more vulnerable than other minorities because of their higher visibility and influence on the socio-economic sphere of Karachi.

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[37] Ibid.

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It is against this socio-political climate of the post-Jinnah era of early 1950's that one can understand the thrust of Esmailjee's proposal. If the state were to build a Friday mosque adjacent to the mausoleum of Jinnah, which Muslim denomination would it privilege? The question became even more complex and controversial, if one considers that Jinnah was a Bohra, member of a very small community in Pakistan. Throughout the Islamic world, wherever mosques are built next to tombs, they usually serve the religious community of the deceased. If the state were to follow that precedent, it would risk alienating almost the entire nation. But allocating the mosque to the Sunni majority would also be inappropriate, for it would alienate his own community. This controversy was at the forefront of the newspaper discussions regarding Jinnah's mausoleum.[38] Esmailjee's letter in this context is making a suggestion that enables the state to resolve the problem. He did not make a recommendation to QMF directly because it was the foremost proponent of the Friday mosque. One could imagine that he believed that Fatima Jinnah could lend a more sympathetic ear to this problem. It is therefore not without significance that, in spite of her public announcements to send suggestions to QMF directly with copies mailed to her, Esmailjee addressed her directly.

These three earlier letters in our folder, written rather soon after partition, when read together relate to a central problematic attached to the nationalist narratives for the demand to Pakistan i.e. the desire for inclusion. None of the correspondents see themselves as full or true citizens. Noorbhoy Esmailjee, asks for an eid prayer grounds, an ecumenical meeting place for all sects, in order that minorities not be excluded from the mausoleum—and by implication from the society. The struggle for Pakistan is in many ways a struggle against minoritization, and several letters bear testimony to the hopes that the new nation and its symbols would resist the temptation to introduce new forms of minoritization. It need not be stated that these hopes were not to be realized in practice.

The letters are, in fact, attempts at securing that right of belonging fully, righteously, assertively, much before they can be read as individual attempts to get written into history. This is not to say that this striving is absent from the letters, on the contrary, it lies at the very heart of the texts. It is as if being written into the history is the only way to secure certification of their rightful location, as participants, as actors, as responsible agents who can in speaking for themselves, represent the nation.

They are the architects of this national memorial, of its public space, which is accommodative, akin to wear and tear, and which can embrace in its expansiveness, all difference, be they class based, political, or religion based.

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[38] Hussain, Altaf (ed.): *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi: 1948-60.

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Jinnah is the hero, big enough, great enough, upon whose body such a space can be choreographed and Fatima Jinnah, the powerful instrument who can ensure the possibility of such an impossibility.

Shehzad Akhtar

Letter from Shehzad Akhtar, class II-B, St. Joseph Convent to Fatima Jinnah, 18th January 1952, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 9, 10.

Even a cursory glance at the letter from the second grader Shehzad Akhtar suspends many of our preconceived notions about a child's letter to an adult (see appendix V).[39] It is motivated by spontaneous and emotional response to the dilapidated image of a gate leading to the tomb of "our beloved leader". But despite his grievance, the attentiveness of the request to the protocols of addressing, the restrained and composed tone brings the presence of an advisor to the foreground. Only the form of writing, consciousness of the problem and the pronouncement of an impulse to act upon it can be granted to the young writer, but that too not without mediation.

The complaint in the letter draws the focus of the reader, in this case, Fatima Jinnah to the heart of what now is considered a cliché problematic of nationalism (though not restricted to it in any way)—of identification, identity and representation.

167/4 Martin Road,
Karachi 5, the 18th January 1952.
Dearest Muhtarma,

Taslim. We are very much pained rather ashamed to see the Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah Gate at the I.I.E.C. site, which will be occupied by the Quaid-e-Azam's memorials.
The gate should either be demolished or maintained in a manner befitting our beloved leader. What would the foreigners, who pass this way, think. May I therefore beseach (sic) you Madam kindly to give due consideration to our wishes.
With sincere regards,
your humble servant,
Shehzad Akhtar,
Class II-B, St. Joseph Convent

[39] Letter from Shehzad Akhtar, class II-B, St. Joseph Convent to Fatima Jinnah, 18th January 1952, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 9, 10.

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High School, Karachi[40]

The maneuver between 'we' and 'I', the 'us' represented by Shehzad Akhtar is conscious, yet taken as a given. His tone therefore projects a smooth, unhesitant movement between the two positions. The pain, rather shame does not seem to be a personal pronouncement but considers to be representative of the reaction of a larger collectivity.

The shame is over two distinct issues. First is the inadequacy of the image of a people for representation onto their collective interior. Second is what the poor condition of the gate is representing to the world outside. What hinges upon giving 'due consideration to our *wishes' to demolish or maintain the gate in a manner befitting to the beloved leader*, is not merely self-design but also its consolidation and sustenance. Representation becomes a means of making certain qualities intrinsic to the national character, or if one prefers, the national personality. In this case these qualities are nurture, care and possession of a gratuitous national character. Implicit in the strive for the maintenance of the gate is the preservation of an *acknowledgment* to the debt to Jinnah-who has given and continues to give. It is the acknowledgment of what Derrida calls the gift, of its significance, of its honor and the singular responsibility it bestows upon those to whom it is given.[41] The poor condition of the gate is indicative of neglect, either due to poor priorities that can be organized, or, more seriously due to an outright incapacity. What is at stake here is the future of the entire nation.

Concern with self-perception in this letter is paralleled with the question of representation to others who identifies *us* by working through the relation between signs and representation. The sign of the dilapidated gate is unequivocal. Not the form or the architectural vocabulary, but the condition of the gate becomes the evidence of the status of the new state. The house needs to be put in order, but be that as it may, the external image, the solidly representational front ought to be independent of that.

Analogous to this mode of analysis is the theme of *drawing room*, a spatial notion borrowed and incorporated from the English colonial bungalow. Whereas traditionally houses were organized into gendered spaces, during the colonial period, one part of the house was set aside as a drawing room for entertaining guests. It was an outward projection, both to one's self and others; a neat and clean. It was to be decorated with western furniture to impart a sophisticated, cultured atmosphere.

The child-writer's plea, I contend, imagines Quaid-e-Azam's mazaar as the drawing room of Pakistan. It is an object made available to the society and its agents through which it assumes and spreads a self-image. Its function is two-fold. Firstly it embodies, reflects and perpetuates a shared knowledge as a type of a mirror. Secondly it creates new knowledge, and

[40] Ibid.

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has a dialogical relationship with those who lay claim to its ownership as well as those who are mere spectators (foreigners). Now it appears as a creator. Amongst all the letters reread up till this point, the conception of the young writer is the closest to the state's and Fatima Jinnah's concern over the image of the mausoleum. The faith in representation and its power to cross-over the boundary of its own frame coming into the service of the organization of the nation's ego is striking.

The gate, a signaling threshold, is an exterior element. Unlike the co-nationals, the foreigners will pick up signs and clues of the nation's relation to their hero and his final abode through such elements. Passing by in distraction, they are bound to be misguided. What is alarming in this case is that the misconception of the foreigners can also extend to the Pakistanis. There is concern with the exterior, but only with regard to the upkeep, maintenance, and decoration—elements commonly associated with interior and interiorization. The gate, for Shehzad is not a boundary but a sign, topographically in an advantageous location which announces and becomes representative and representational device of both identification and identity formulation, marking an important grave beyond it, representing a capable nation, capable of management, nurturing and caring.

Another theme packed within the economy of a four-sentenced letter (that we have also encountered earlier in Qayyum's writing) is the future orientation of Quaid-e-Azam memorials. It is a site of waiting, that must be kept uncluttered and on call so the promise of the utopian memorials can be delivered upon by the state. It is not being approached as an end of a chapter, but primarily as the beginning of a new one. The duty of the citizens is to *beseech* and bring to notice any hindrance that could be met at the site by the implementation agency. The contemplation and investigation of the moment of waiting for the fulfillment of a promise can tell us all that the *Manifest*-monument hides. Akhtar's letter, with the rest, discloses the contestation of what to wait for and how to fulfill one's responsibility meanwhile.

Though in a limited way, vis-à-vis the first three letters, I have dwelled on the nature of subject-position and the different modes in which it figures in the prose of specific proposals. To get a larger and coherent picture of the other relations implied in the letters under examination, we also have to make sense of how Fatima Jinnah is positioned in their frames. 'May I therefore beseach (sic) you Madam kindly to give due consideration to our wishes,' is a metaphoric statement that suggests an unspoken, tacit understanding shared by all the writers that she had inherited the guardianship of the mazaar, along with the space in which it was located and which it sanctified. In this respect, her supporters and critics are equally unequivocal in making this assumption. This literature, along with a large body of supporting correspondences that

[41] Jacques Derrida: *The Gift of Death*, translated by David Wills. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.

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appear in the newspapers and elsewhere indicate the voluntary nature of the mandate given to her by the nation. She was forwarded in these letters as a resourceful person with a support structure. She was someone who could act outside the bureaucratic system and was not pinned down by its limitations. This meant that she could take advantage of the government's system without her decisions being determined entirely by its limitations. It was a known fact that Fatima Jinnah was at rift with the government on a number of issues. The question of the mausoleum, the future monument, the present use of the space in which the promised monument will be erected, figures prominently amongst the disagreements. But interestingly, the writers, old and young alike perceived these conflicts as a sign of her autonomy. She represented resistance and the idealistic side of the Jinnah's legacy to her admirers. From a different point of view, her presence gave the state its mask that its citizens all too knowingly feared it did not deserve. Yet, the state knew how to use it. Between the nation and the state's ideological apparatus, Fatima Jinnah could not help but play the role. She performed the function of a mask that was at rift with what it covered, representing an illusion that is carved and sustained by the power structure for it unique qualities. Nevertheless, the status does give her the power to keep a check on the imposing tendencies of government institutions.

The curious composition of the 'May I therefore beseach (sic) you Madam kindly to give due consideration to our wishes,' with 'sincere regard,' followed by 'your servant,' is telling of the relation between the state and its people, manifested in the text of a singular writer. The address to Fatima Jinnah is what this relation hinges upon. In this dialogue, the government and its supporting political structure do not simply figure as an agency that accesses the needs of the people through a certain process of abstraction, but also takes their dreams and desires into account. It is precisely by the transcendence of need by desire that the population is modulated into a nation in this imaginary relationship. The 'sincere humble servant' a ritualistic salutation, meaning should not be taken literally, gives this relationship another twist, one that lies beyond what de Certeau calls *strategies* and *tactics*.

De Certeau defines 'strategy' as 'the calculus of force-relationship which becomes possible when a subject of will and power can be isolated from an "environment".' Tactic on the other hand, '(is) a calculus which cannot count on a "proper" (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as visible totality. The place of tactic belongs to the other." [42] In short, a tactic is an art of the weak.

The act of writing is one that lies between these two modes of action. It is the self-conscious effort of the user, delivering upon a responsibility of a concerned citizen, who is trying to move along, the maker-user fracture, recognizing and accepting the unbridgeable

[42] Michel de Certeau: *The Practice of Everyday Practice*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, p. xix.

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difference that he has no power to bridge. It is a movement that operates at the border of pessimism and optimism, an attempt to insert a voice, as and of a humble servant, who's wishes, one hopes will be taken into account.

I find this act, operating within a system between the 'proper' space of strategy and the temporal tools of a tactic, caught within a curious paradox. The tone of the letters, I contend, suggests voice of *one* on the behalf of a larger imagined community. In the attempt of each writer to bridge the gap between *strategy* and *tactic* by mapping its desire, into the space 'proper' of strategy, the site of deliverance, the debt of the represented collectivity is done in. This cross over, though is possible for an individual, it cannot carry the burden of its assumed support, all the way through, maintaining its infinite diversity. Furthermore, the desire-cum-concern of each has to be dressed in an objectifying discourse, dissected and ready to go through rigorous scrutiny of analysis by the makers, mandatory for approval of the proposed mausoleum subverts the commitment to the implied nation. It is the attempt of temporality to transmute into space, that the content of the letters presents itself as a challenge—the choreography of the impossible monument.

Abdullatif Sethi

Letter by Abdullatif Sethi, General Merchant and Commission Agent to the Editor of The Daily Dawn, 18th March 1952, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 11.

The presumption of objectivity is particularly heightened in Sethi's letter but this can be attributed to the formality of genre (see appendix VI).[43] Addressed to the editor of *The Daily Dawn* with a copy to Fatima Jinnah, it is intended for publication. Silent references to the correspondent appear in the letterhead, margins and sidebars meant only for the information of the two primary readers. The letter is triggered by the government's recent decision to convert Jinnah's house of birth into a museum-cum-library, where his relics would be displayed, giving a window onto the objects of daily use of the venerated leader. In response, the programmatic content of Sethi's scheme proposes a different socio-spatial arrangement.

On the face of it, the letter seems to suggest a simple proposition, expressing one person's opinion of the best way to organize memorials to Jinnah. But if one goes deeper into the text, it becomes clear that the problem with which its is trying to come to grips with is much

[43] Letter by Abdullatif Sethi, General Merchant and Commission Agent to the Editor of The Daily Dawn, 18th March 1952, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 11.

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larger and one that goes much further back into history. Indeed, it lies at the very heart of the impulse to nationhood. In the literature it has been expressed in a variety of ways both sociological—such as the supposed conflict between modernity and tradition, cultural integrity and economic progress—and psychological—as tension between masculine and feminine, the exterior and the interior.

Recently government had been consolidating a number of *appropriate* sites where Jinnah's material relics could be displayed. Sethi's letter suggests such a memorial. He proposes the relics to be moved near the mausoleum, which already attracted visitors from all over Pakistan and abroad. He goes on, also to recommend the conversion of the birth house of Quaid-e-Azam into a state owned *madrasa* where young children (i.e. boys only) would recite and *hifz* (memorize) Quran devoting it to the peace of the deceased.[44]

The networking of sites in Karachi and elsewhere as memorials to Jinnah and the anti colonial, nationalist historiography of Pakistan has been a high profile endeavor from the very conception of the country. The state-sponsored historians, curators, artists have been at work identifying all that could function as the monument 'proper.' Sethi, a whole sale merchant from Peshawar, settled in Karachi, was not alone in this venture. Also not particular to Sethi is the recurring theme of the reassertion of both segments of civil society and groups excluded from it—of its claims upon the state in the letters to Fatima Jinnah. The conflict between modernity and tradition, state and society, westernized and vernacularized segments of society are central to such reapportions. In most cases, the strategy of the state is to involve traditional sensibility and harness it to the demands of modernity. Parenthetically, one might state that the mirror image of this is provided by groups, which seek to harness the instruments and technology of the modern state in the service of tradition.

Seen from this light Sethi seems to offer yet another alternative, namely the separation of the two realms. Partha Chatterjee in *The Nation and Its Fragments* (1993) already suspects such a separative tendency within Bengali nationalist movements, which he calls the inner and outer domains of national culture.[45] Sethi in this proposition seeks to separate the modern from traditional, the inner from outer, the past from future, birth from death and the history from eschatology. What is proposed in essence is that the site of burial should become a modern memorial, its face turned outwards, available to touristic consumption, a museum, a place to visit, profane and paradoxically not a place of death but a record of life. In contrast, the place of Jinnah's birth in this ordering, becomes an internal space, as a means of salvation of his soul, a place of prayer, a place of homage to the prevailing eschatology—in short a religious-spiritual

[44] Ibid.
[45] Partha Chatterjee: The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

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site. In its essence it is closely modeled on the local shrines and other traditional and religious institutions. Sethi's proposal drives towards a split in the very notion of memorialization at its nucleus—into two fragments, autonomous of each other. If one starts out with the possibility of compromise and passageways, and with the structural semi-permeability of the partition between different spheres, rather than with partitions themselves and the spaces they divide, one could be tempted to see a simple polarity. This is very different than focus on the intractable, untreatable rigor of the distinction between the inside and outside brought in here as conceptualized by Sethi. Instead of engaging in the discourse of subordination or hegemony it separates the sacred from the profane. On the one hand, the mausoleum with the museum facility is situated to service the needs of the present, of the visitors, of life. The place of death becomes the site of life. On the other hand, the birth-house, the primal site, with all its symbolic and mythological connotations is located within the paradigm of the past, eschatology, of a theoretical selflessness of devotees focused first and foremost on offering the blessings for the soul of the dead. Sethi's scheme is an attempt to restore the authenticity and purity of these different strands of influences that have come to create our sense of the world by disentangling then and rearranging them in space.

The segregation in Sethi's proposal is in line with Chatterjee's understanding of the colonial and postcolonial histories in South Asia.

> By my reading, anti-colonial nationalism creates its own domain of sovereignty within colonial society well before it begins its political battle with the imperial power. It does this by dividing the world of social institutions and practices into two domains—the material and the spiritual. The material is the domain of the "outside" of the economy and of state-craft, of science and technology, a domain where the West had proved its superiority and the East had succumbed. In this domain, then Western superiority had to be acknowledged and its accomplishments carefully studied and replicated. The spiritual, on the other hand, is an "inner" domain bearing the "essential" marks of cultural identity. The greater one's success in imitating Western skills in the material domain, therefore, the greater the need to preserve the distinctness of one's spiritual culture...
>
> There are several implications. First, nationalism declares the domain of the spiritual its sovereign territory and refuses to allow the colonial power to intervene in that domain.[46]

[46] Ibid. p. 6.

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This strict binary opposition in the post-colonial state, we are told, is only accentuated because the competing concepts of the individual and the nation-state become embedded in a new grand narrative, the narrative of the capital. This would suggest that the self-orientalization of community in the interest of self-preservation emerges out of the colonial and anti-colonial experience. In turn, it becomes relegated to the capital's prehistory, a natural, pre-political stage in the social revolution that must be suspended for the journey of freedom and progress to begin.

Sethi's sensibility allows us to critique Chatterjee's regulated categories. If Sethi's attempt is to physically separate the two domains, we only have to search the final narratives of partition of India to get a sense of the volatility inherent in such modes of thinking. The predicament of Chatterjee's or Sethi's understanding of the world by slotting human existence into neat and refined categories and putting different values on them has borne violent and brutal consequences in the history of the sub-continent.[27] If Sethi in a utopian moment thinks the purity of form, action and imagination to be possible, the assumption belies its own narrative. In the separation, the strains of modernization and tradition are reconciled, for neither can escape the modern practices of remembering, representation and the involvement of the modern nation-state.

Chatterjee's argument about the two types of nationalisms, one directed to the westernized, state dominated and the other to the traditional, spiritual or interior realm is a popular one. As I have tried to demonstrate with Sethi's letter, one can find the echoes of this line of thinking in the colloquial language. In this sense, it may be an accurate assessment of the spirits of the times. Yet it is also clear that it is not without its dangers. Indeed the tragedy of South Asia can be traced back to a great extent to these two forms of nationalisms can develop independent of each other and that their spheres are distinct as are their actors and methodologies of action. In fact, contrary to the claim of Chatterjee, this was precisely the strategy of the colonial state. Religion, ethnic and family law and customs were relegated to the private domain by the colonial administration, which viewed itself as the custodian of the westernized values, practices and institutions. Consequently there was very little encounter with the traditional or what Partha Chatterjee has called the spiritual, inner domain the post-colonial state inherited. Sethi's separation is consistent with this strategy. He is willing to concede the sovereignty of the mausoleum to the state dominated institution, in order to retain the sovereignty of civil society over the spiritual realm as embodied in the *madrasas* and institute. He is willing to give the body of Jinnah including the relics and worldly belongings into the hands of the state, in order to retain the possession over the spirit of the leader, at his

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first house, when only spirit was—by claiming the exclusive right to cater to his immortal soul. Metaphorically, he is also delegating to the state, Jinnah's worldly legacy, namely the institutions of power that he succeeded in securing from the hands of the British.

The dilemma of the post-colonial state was precisely along the same lines, as to how to come to grips with this dichotomy. Not surprisingly, it sought to solve this quandary as its precursor colonial state had perfected. The reason for this is obvious, as an alternative strategy would have clashed head on with the linguistic and communal diversity, not withstanding the rhetoric of partition. In fact, subsequent attempts such as those by Pakistan military dictator Zia-ul-Haq, to impose Islamic rule in the country has resulted in the deepening of division, instead the hope for the accommodation of differences within the polity. Simply stated, the problem is that the conception of the state as an autonomous realm, with autonomous goals—economic growth, national security and so on has become an impediment to nationalism precisely because nationalism requires an alternative conception of the state namely as support for unity and mutual trust.

In conclusion, ultimately until the purpose of the state becomes the creation of a just and tolerant society, it cannot sustain the nationalism of an imaginary society, instead would undermine and fracture it. Sethi's letter is an acceptance of such a defeat.

Haji Abdul Qayyum Khan

Letter by Haji Abdul Qayyum Khan to Fatima Jinnah, 18th October 1954, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 12.

The first letter in our archival file was followed five years later by another by the same writer (see appendix VII). Now he does not focus on the programmatic suggestion he had made earlier but raises a different question. As discussed before, the former letter proposed activities in a vicinity of the *mazaar*, which drew their energy from instructional aura, embedded in the proximity to the grave of Jinnah. In comparison, the focus of the present letter was procedural. His recommendation was in reference to the oblivious mode of operations that had tainted the track record of governmental functioning, Qayyum as a concerned citizen living opposite Quaid's grave, prescribed a more engaging and transparent process, whereby 'the objections being raised by the mass' could be taken into account. [48]

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[47] My analysis of the final narratives of partition submitted to the Punjab Boundary Commission in 1945-47 illustrates the predicament and failure of organizing the world into binary opposites.

[48] Letter by Haji Abdul Rahim Abdul Qayyum Khan to Fatima Jinnah, 18th October 1954, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 12.

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Qayyum argued that the importance this project had gotten in years since Jinnah's death, suggested that people's minds were full of valuable ideas about it. Instead of carrying on business as usual, the symbolic value of this project demanded that these public ideas be allowed to voice. QMF should therefore, publish the drawings before approval and people be given a few weeks to respond.

The articulation of the new suggestion comes with a new medium of communication. While the former letter was in Urdu, this one addressed Fatima Jinnah in English. It seems to be an attention-seeking device to forward his suggestions in a manner that will have some resonance. Though the interchangeable insertion of words like 'mass' and 'public' can be explained away by a lack of facility with the language, it is curious to note that mass is paired up with grievance and public with opinion. What is more important to note is that the role of both public and mass does not surpass a group that would do anything more than offering constructive criticism. Not even with regard to the uncoercive 'public sphere' of Quaid-e-Azam's burial grounds, where one expects that unlike any other public space, matters could be brought out into the light of day, out of the isolation of official meeting rooms, public or masses do not give prescriptions. They can have 'opinions' about what they do not like, not what they like for that will collapse the entire idea of the process due to sheer impossibility of management. The text keeps the distinction between decision-makers and opinion holders intact. The decision-makers will still have to *infer* what the public, as stake-holders really want. Qayyum is suggesting a mechanism for inference that will close the gap between abstraction and existing opinions.

The appeal of the letter constrains the opinion poll to a one time event per project, in which 'the public may be given at least two or three weeks to ponder over the scheme, any alterable matters founded by the public may be considered.'[49] It keeps the process from spinning out of control. Two to three weeks is therefore ample of time for the objections to be raised.

The significance of this process for Jinnah's mausoleum becomes doubly essential. First, because of the importance of timing of when polls can be meaningful and second, due to the symbolic significance of the monument and its inextricability from public opinion.

The irreversibility of decisions, finality of actions and grievance between masses and government, common to many a projects takes on a different kind of rigor in this particular case due to the uniqueness and singularity of the project. 'Such memorials carry much importance and can never be constructed every now and then.'[50] The hopes and aspirations, as they have only been solidified in minds with ten years of public debate and contestation over it along with

[49] Ibid.

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a sense of right to representation and/or to be represented adds further burden. Timing, an inherent component of the notion of process is crucial here. Qayyum's fundamental argument is that people have valuable opinions, which are blocked off by the structural approach to public works. Opinions are voiced only when construction has begun and works come out of the domain of official paper into public. A certain degree of finally sets in, once tenders are passed and even acceptable criticism cannot be taken into account. As such, communication gap between the people and implementation agencies widens and 'grievances' accumulate. Government should therefore, publish the drawings of the mausoleum so that if any meaningful alterations are suggested, they can be taken into account. The process should not take more than three weeks, Qayyum suggests. This will give people a sense of ownership through participation, a voice and responsibility. In short, it will make them stake holders.

The heightened symbolic nature of the project will mend the difference between the state's technocratic approach and public's demands for a democratic approach much faster. It is quite all right for Qayyum if the gesture of inclusion performs no other purpose than symbolism. This is 1958 and the military government of Ayub Khan with his highly optimistic modernization agenda is already well in place. The government at the moment is far more interested in hastening the economic growth, industrialization, modernization of the education system than gets bogged down by the cumbersome and retarding hindrance of democracy. The appropriate place of democracy is somewhere in the future, after the prerequisite conditions of education, economy and technological development have been achieved. The doctrine of the moment conceived democracy to be an automatic outcome of this process that will in addition to bringing the other fruits of modernization also close the social gap between the rich and the less fortunate. Qayyum's letter casts a doubt on such a view of the unfolding of history but is hesitant and unsure of his own position, for inclusion surely could be slowing.

Nevertheless, Jinnah's mausoleum in this scheme, once again becomes the agency that can provide some degree of reassurance that has been postponed to a foreseeable future is after all, achievable. The questionable ethics and unjust policies can thereby be exposed, for now one has precedence.

Rahim Bakhsh

Letter by Rahim Bakhsh to Fatima Jinnah, 7th January 1957, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 13, 14, 15. Translated by Shundana Yusaf.

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[50] Ibid.

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In January 1957, Prince Gardens in Karachi was a relevantly new housing scheme for the lower middle class refugees fleeing partition. Rahim Bakhsh, one of its residents had written to Fatima Jinnah more than once, proposing ideas and drawings as visions for the future mausoleum of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. His letter focuses only on this memorial, with no mention of any of the others approved by the state (see appendix VIII). The letter, unlike Qayyum's, picks up from where the last one had ended. The last letter sets up both the background and justification for the present proposal that was revealed to him in a dream, after much meditation (*wasifa*) and prayers. While Shah's dream had come to him unexpectedly, Bakhsh's dream took place after many nights of meditation and praying for a revelation.

The attached drawing is difficult to decipher. It does not follow any accepted rules of presentation for architectural drawings, sketches or views. The lines are disjointed. They are spontaneous and forceful as if they are drawn compulsively. The mysterious numbers that appear there are promising of something, but one does not know what. Their ambiguity creates anticipation and curiosity. There is a promise to a hidden meaning and abstract symbolism to which Rahim Bakhsh does not provide any clues to, except for his claim to a follow up drawing that is already under preparation. The disjuncture in his narrative builds upon a romantic notion of his proposal being a reflection of an inner impulse that can stand on its own as a valid and meaningful representation, independent of any need for explanation. It is the visual manifestation of a *dictation* from God. As such, the responsibility falls to a large extent on the reader, to whom this narrative could mean anything or nothing. The text and the accompanying drawing alike invite participation. It opens up only if one has the faith to make them speak.

The composition of the letter, its language, sentence structure, grammar and flow of ideas are to a great extent consistent with the mood set up by his colored pencil sketch. But then the act of writing is to communicate for which his message has to move beyond the realm of a powerful imaginary, one that is solely his personal and spiritual terrain. Rahim Bakhsh is very aware of this problematic. He has his reader in mind, Fatima Jinnah. For the proposal to be approved it has to speak to her and pass through her enabling or disabling filter. To bridge this gap, he makes some abrupt moves, which take him into and out of the concreteness of the real.

> The color signaled (in the dream) varies. The first image did not have any black color, whereas the second had a hint of it. This (color in the final image) was the best. Therefore, take a look at this (proposal) and get the government to research where such a stone can be found (the term used in the letter is country).[31]

The past and future tense, choices of colors, and the partially silent act of choosing a color by the author, facilitate a movement between the highly individuated world of the writer

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and the larger world of the reader. There is no presumption on behalf of the writer that his world is the same as Fatima Jinnah, yet they are bonded by the shared belief in Islam '(remember) always, (that) the prophet (*may peace be upon him*) mediates between us,' and the love and gratitude for Quaid which after his death translates into a concern for the erection of an appropriate tomb for him.

His impulse to communicate also operates at two levels simultaneously. In places, his tone is bold and emulates authority. In other places in ways, it is periodically interrupted, his words becoming mellow and submissive. The former retains an affinity with the mystery, the initiatory, the esoteric, the secret or the sacred. While some of this mood is displaced by the operations of my working translation, hints of its rawness and pre-engaged accent are still maintained. The shift suggests a stepping out of the narration of the dream. He now walks on less surer grounds. The abrupt movement of stepping into and out of the dream narrative acknowledges the protocols of writing. The communication is from 'a space in which there has not yet resounded the injunction to respond, 'a space in which one does not hear the call to explain oneself, one's actions and one's thoughts, to respond to the other and answer for oneself before the other.' In this sense, communication of the dream seems to be anti-dream. It is opposed to the loss of sense or consciousness of responsibility. In attempting to reconcile the irreducible polarity in the structure of his attempt, we have a quasi-schizophrenic script at hand. It switches positions and personalities, carrying within it the awareness of its writer of a crossing over; of social and class barriers. It very much remains a proclamation by an anonymous subaltern writer who has dared to share his dream with a popular and resourceful reader, whom he entrusts with the ability to resurrect the dream he has put in writing—into stone.

The much repeated appeal for response that draws Fatima Jinnah into the presence of the letter can be attributed to orality, of dictating to a post-man, a neighbor, a shop keeper, a priest who is writing on the behalf of Rahim Bakhsh. This genre of epistolary, established and still practiced in the Indian sub-continent, borders on one between speech and writing, and hence literacy and illiteracy itself.

> Issue an order to the obedient so I continue working on the design and can present you with a drawing or photograph. And for God's sake, make sure to respond to me... For the sake of God, do respond... Please, it is absolutely important that you answer my letter. Please, for the sake of God, with the help of Hazrat Mohammed (may peace be upon him) do answer my letter.[51]

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[51] Letter by Rahim Bakhsh to Fatima Jinnah, 7th January 1957, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 13, 14, 15.
[52] Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

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In its repeated 'pleases' and demands for a response it takes on the personification of the speech of a vulnerable lover who upon having expressed his feelings to the loved one suffers a certain degree of vertigo. Not knowing where his proposal stands in relation to those made by others, he awaits his destiny. By exposing himself, he has taken a formidable chance. All the rhetorical devices must come to service for at least face saving if the most desirable position can not be secured.

> All the worldly engineers together cannot compare to the spiritual guidance of my engineer, for he is the ruler of the world and skies above. My meditation concluded today, and it was today that he channeled the design through me.[10]

The metaphor of engineer that here also stands for an architect pitted against the engineering of God is significant. The knowledge and ability of all knowing, all-powerful Being, is unmatched. Man is the vessel through which God speaks both directly or indirectly. Bakhsh sees himself as the privileged one, because unlike the other engineers, he is spoken to by the True One. Still Rahim Bakhsh has to remind 'Madam Janab Fatima Jinnah Sahib Bhadur' to keep faith and recognize God's indications.

The charting out of God's indication onto the burial site of the founding leader is an attempt at a master-fiction that is not unique to Rahim Bakhsh. Instead, it extends to the competing visions of all those who indulge in correspondence with Fatima regarding Jinnah's mausoleum, QMF or any other state institution as a part of their civic duty. The distinction between civic and religious duty is often diluted. The blending of sensibilities, conventional and modern, suggested by the drawing of a sketch of a meditated dream-discourse rooted in the religious tradition for a present purpose of a nationalist representation is symptomatic of the cross-over of ethical principles of the nation and the moral beliefs of the Muslim community. Remnants of the bourgeois narratives of partition are resurrected here, its dominant forms inculcating ideas about the relations between religion and nation. The new nation must be created to protect its faith. There is seemingly no opposition between Islam and modernization, old or new, traditional or radical here. Now that it has acquired a freedom, which has not ensured anything, Bukhsh invokes his religious tradition extending it beyond where Sethi wanted to preserve it. It is brought to formulate the nation into something that partition had only inaugurated. The work still remains to be done and perceiving the responsibility of the communication of his dream for the mausoleum, Bakhsh is putting his visions forth to the powerful respondent, who can turn it into stone.

Meer Nooruddin Hussain

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Letter by Meer Nooruddin Hussain to Fatima Jinnah, 16th February 1958, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 16, 17.

The letters under study came from different domains. Some were from the sphere of the state, either governmental or affiliated with its symbolic power structure. Their writers are partially identifiable because of their familiarity with the language of power, as they are close to or cognizant of the nature of power. In their comments and proposals about the mausoleum or the landscape within which it would be located concerned the maintenance of status quo or coercion of the system to align it to personal benefits.

There was yet another category of writers with a certain degree of naïveté and optimism about their ideas and aspirations. These represented for the purpose of this discussion, groups striving for an access to some abstract notion of civil society in Pakistan. It was important to those who were still unsure of their citizenship status and their future in a county that was still away from forming a nation. Focused not on a demand for political or civil rights, one characteristic of these private letters to Fatima Jinnah was to engage in the project of imagining a community through the idea of a monument to Jinnah. Their idealism still focused on the possibilities and the promise of a future rather than ground realities. As such, these writers have an affinity with Robert Musil's possibilitarians. [34]

The state letters to Fatima Jinnah from the former group were written with two intentions in mind. One, to request for favor or permission vis-à-vis the mausoleum's project. Two, to remind her that she is a part of them and nothing more special. She like the rest of them was merely a privileged member of a class into whose lap power has fallen almost by luck and inherited privilege.

Meer Nooruddin Hussain's letter falls into the second category of writers who have access to power (see appendix IX). Its style and content, even in its criticism implies a certain sense of familiarity and an insiders perspective of party politics with a firm handle on the factions within Muslim League's working committee. In this respect, it is distinct from the writings which were inattentive to the ideological abyss between Fatima Jinnah and state institutions. The substance of Hussain's letter crosses social and class barriers, suggesting a certain degree of implantation or at least some level of backing from the Rana Liaqat Ali Khan's group, to who's camp he appears to be sympathetic.

Hussain's letter seems to be triggered by Ayub Khan's recent announcement of conceding the mausoleum project to Fatima Jinnah. Critical of her integrity, the text reawakens past events in order to question her public authority as a director of such an important project.

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[33] Ibid., p. 15.

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In doing so, it brings into question the relation between Fatima Jinnah and a controversial Sindhi family, the Haroons. Horoon & Sons was a private corporation that owned *The Daily Dawn*, an influential national newspaper. It was founded by Quaid-e-Azam in Bombay in 1940. With partition its headquarters moved to Karachi. After the death of Jinnah, this private company bought it from Muslim League. In 1955, Fatima Jinnah had a falling out with them on a number of public issues. She accused them of corruption and misinformation and filed lawsuits against them, in the name of the nation. At some point, the suits were settled or dismissed without any public notification. Reconciliation was reached between the two parties, making them into allies and public supporters of each other. Hussain claims that this was perplexing to the spectators who were first implicated in the process and later irresponsibly dropped out by her. The people in whose name the process was carried out never learnt of the terms of reconciliation.

The letter tries to discredit her for desanctifying the domain of nation by treating it as if it was her private property. According to the author, Fatima Jinnah had interfered with the Muslim League's decision to bury Liaqat Ali Khan's body in the vicinity of the Jinnah's grave[55] and then 'on his (Liaqat Ali Khan's) fresh grave' gotten a dividing wall erected between the two. Was Liaqat Ali Khan not a nationalist leader, Jinnah's legitimate successor and Shaheed-e-Millat, (martyr of the nation)? Was Jinnah's burial ground not the property of the nation where it could enshrine the bodies of its leaders, its *shuhuda*, its martyrs? In what capacity had Fatima Jinnah put up the resistance and the objectionable symbol of the dividing wall between the two graves and more importantly on what principles was such a resistance put up?

The criticism is premised on her tendency to blur the distinction between her private rights and the collective property of the nation. Jinnah, no doubt was her brother but it was his political persona and the nation's debt to him that had bestowed the privilege upon him. His burial grounds, the most prestigious and symbolic site in the city, located at the highest elevation and at the geographical center of the extended city[56] could not be mistaken for his or her private property. He reminds her that she did not reserve the right of admission to it. Its sacred quality lay in its ability to act as the meeting grounds, where the nation came to pay homage to its father. In fact, the people, Hussain reiterates, delivered the guardianship of this site to her. If their elected officials decided to bury their other leaders in the vicinity, there was no civil or political capacity in which she could speak except in her singular voice.

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[54] Robert Musil, *The Man Without Qualities*. New York: Perigee Books, 1980.
[55] In 1951 Liaqat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan was assassinated during a public speech in Karachi. Fatima Jinnah's opposition of first his burial in the vicinity of Jinnah grave and later the erection of a wall between the two graves, created an abyss between the party and the public over the issue.
[56] Interview granted by the 1948 administrator of Karachi, Mr. Hakim Raza Hashmi's on Aug.12th, 2000.

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During the conflict between Fatima Jinnah and Haroon & Sons, she had announced that "*Dawn* belongs to the People and who are they (The Haroon & Sons) to return *Dawn* to people...those who ran 'the newspaper "*Dawn*" for their own profit?'[57] Hussain reminding her the famous words asked her as to what became of those allegations, now that she had taken them up as her allies. 'What happened then about the law suits, has the nation lost them?...Of late one sees in pictures sitting with daughters of that family on the occasion of weddings and other such ceremonies. May Allah help the nation that has been entrusted with such people to rule over and such as you to preach principles.'[58]

Hussain points out that Fatima Jinnah had betrayed the nation by making the imagining that they had given a free mandate or that she could at once be Jinnah's successor and make decisions independently on behalf of her imagined supporters.

The International Competition

In 1957, the government decided to organize an international architectural competition under the auspices of International Union of Architecture, Paris, for Quaid-e- Azam mausoleum. The avant-garde jury included four prominent European architects, namely, Robert Matthew, Gio Ponti, Eugene Beaudouin, Pier Luigi Nervi, in addition to the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the leader of opposition. The European experts were chosen by Zaheer ud Din Khwaja. Khwaja, a Pakistani town planner and a bureaucrat mentions this project in *Memoirs of an Architect*, (1999). 'As I was fully conversant with the principle figures in the architectural world at the time, I took the liberty of selecting the following outstanding persons...from a panel of names sent by the UIA's headquarters in Paris.'[59] The international competition and the high profile jury were the Government of Pakistan's grand gesture, demonstrating their appreciation of the significance of the project and its meaning to the people.

It is ironic that even through its well-meaning attempts, it came up with a structure that sealed the cracks through which the multiple opinions from below had surfaced. I am tempted to see these letters to Fatima Jinnah as capitalizing on the time given by Government's indecision how to deliver on the project to the best of its abilities.

In conceptualizing the process, the avant-garde architectural jury with two prominent Pakistani bureaucrats was going to access what a suitable monument to Jinnah would be. 'The government of Pakistan,' reported the jury, 'by inviting architects from all over the world to

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[57] Letter by Meer Nooruddin Hussain to Fatima Jinnah, 16th February 1958, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 17.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Zahir-ud Deen Khwaja: *Memoirs of an Architect*. Lahore: Printhouse, 1998, p. 63.

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take part in an international competition for the Mausoleum of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in Karachi, have clearly shown their will to create a work expressive of the highest architectural value.' They insisted that the submissions will not be judged 'on the abstract plane of architecture.' Importance will also be given to the creation of a 'highly spiritual, religious atmosphere round the mausoleum, raised to the memory of the creator of the modern state of Pakistan, and to evoke in the mind of all that regard which the people give to his work."[60]

The recognition of these standards by the government of Pakistan, for which it was appreciated the representatives of the architectural world is disconnected from the standards that Qayyum, Ismailjee, Bakhsh, and others were advocating for. It silences their decade long contestation by dominating it with the idealisms of the architects which are disengaged from the social expectations off the monument. Interested more in the democratic process of consultation and communication than the promotion of a certain formal theoretical language, the comparison of these diverging visions of how to access the question of mausoleum reveals the different competing agendas of decision makers like jurors and users. I will return to the problematic of form, its significance or insignificance later but for now will turn to a related issue.

One of the requirements of participation in the competition demanded design experience in the Islamic world. But the program or design brief for the competition did not condition the use of conventional, Islamic or any other prevailing architectural vocabulary. This could be read as the government's attempt of reconciling a certain notion of Islamic architecture and contemporary concerns within the larger field of architecture. William Whitfield's winning design acclaimed as a 'magnificent hyperbolic parabolic, the interiors of which were intricately detailed in the finest Mughal tradition as were the gardens"[61] is forwarded by his supporters as balancing the conflicting expectations of the architects and the state representatives on the jury.

The design appreciated by Khwaja as 'sympathetic understanding of the Mughal architecture in particular,' in his 1998 book, was perceived very differently by Fatima Jinnah. She read Whitfield's proposal as a copy of a project in some part of the United States. The public controversy that began with the announcement of the results, suspended state's hopes of executing the memorial once again. It resulted in what Khwaja recalls as,

> our missing a golden opportunity of building a befitting memorial to the Father of the Nation.
>
> In retrospect, I have I have often felt terribly guilty at being partially responsible for the fiasco of the international competition, as I believe that the fate of the competition was sealed the day I helped in the selection of the names of the Jury

[60] Ibid, pp. 62, 63.

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of Assessors, who were at the time some of the most leading figures in the architectural world.[62]

These declarations reveal, in the very least, how a planner-cum-bureaucratic representative of the state viewed the problematic of the monument. It seems as if in this case, the state had no strategies of accessing public opinion. They had inherited only technocratic machinery from its predecessor, colonial state. The only strategies at its disposal were either of suppressing or bypassing criticism—as it tried to do initially—or that of total capitulation, as it did later in Ayub Khan's decision's to hand over the process entirely to Fatima Jinnah. Khwaja could only conceptualize the process of realizing the *job* in purely technocratic terms, namely through the establishment of a technical committee, inviting designs, commissioning architects, and initiating an open competition. It is ironic that it did not occur to a government led by the democratic leaders to initiate an alternative, participatory process for the monument.[63] The only strategies at its disposal were either of suppressing or bypassing criticism—as it tried to do initially through the international competition—or that of total capitulation, as it did later in Ayub Khan's decision's to hand over the process entirely to Fatima Jinnah.

Abdul-al-Ahsan

Letter by Abdul-al-Ahsan, architect to Fatima Jinnah, 25th February 1958, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 18. Translated by Shundana Yusaf.

Before Fatima Jinnah launched her campaign against the approval of the English architect's winning design, in February 1958, she received an aggrieved letter from Abdul-al-Ahsan (see appendix X).[64] Like Zaheer-ud-din Khwaja, he was also an architect working for the government of Pakistan. But when he wrote to Fatima Jinnah in his personal capacity, Ahsan's point of view and concern was diametrically opposed to that of Khwaja's. The handing over of the responsibility to a foreign architect, in Ahsan's opinion, signaled a lack of faith in local talent. The international competition had been a discouraging gesture. Moreover, the sterile and highly abstracted forms of the Whitfield's design, the author contended would not arouse an interest of the common Muslim. The indecipherable architectural signs would baffle an average

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[61] Ibid., p. 65.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Neither the democratic leaders of the past and the military leader had a strategy a hand to cope or even recognize the essence of the mausoleum's problematics.
[64] Letter by Abdul-al-Ahsan, architect to Fatima Jinnah, 25th February 1958, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 18.

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spectator. The most serious consequence of the international competition, he suggested, was its indication that all the claims of putting the nation on the 'high road of "industrialization and trade" are merely verbal claims. The practical platform has no real room for it yet."[65]

Progress, in this narrative could be translated as self-reliance, freedom of thought, Islamic heritage, vernacular uniqueness and nationhood carried through the Islamic traditions. The lament over the lack of consideration given to the 'Mughal type' of architecture was also related to the question of progress. It should have provided the guiding principal for the design competition rather than be taken out of consideration. 'Mughal type' as a determining factor of 'interest to common Muslims' is used here as a trope that stands not so much for the sub-continental-ness of the Mughals as it does for an exemplary type. It is reminiscent of the glory, widespread political and military hegemony that derives its essence from 'Islam,' not the region. It stands for Islamic influence on this region and corresponds to a one way transmission of influence. In the reconciliation of different sources of identity, territory is downplayed. A modern Pakistani nation, in Ahsan's view could be fashioned from within its cultural impetus that did not emulate or depend on the west anymore. Encouragement of local talent was critical in Ahsan's estimate because its products would be inevitably original and Pakistani. This was the only warranty of valuable development that would be worthy of being called progress. It was this competing modernity that will deliver independence from the colonial rule still looming over the minds of the sovereign but not yet a free nation. The local architect is the only one grounded and fully cognizant of the inner domain of culture and it is only he/ she who could know what qualities would make a magnificent tomb for the Quaid.

Granted that Ahsan viewed all the worldly development to be originally emanating from within the cultural dimension of social existence, where the exterior was determined by inner workings, he does not conceive a dichotomy, or fragmentation between the two. In this case he presents a different model than what Chatterjee has suggesting in his *Colonial and Post-colonial Histories* (1993). He is also different from Sethi, who suggests a clean split in the different domains of the national life to preserve certain authenticity of what has survived of the past. Instead Ahsan brings them into an organic unity, but first assigning it a liberating power.

The image of the foreigner has gone through a considerable mutation in the body of these letters, from Akhtar, to Sethi to Ahsan. In Akhtar's conceptualization, the foreigner is an important outsider who refects back and influences our self-perception. It is someone to whom one presents the formal front. Since one can speak to such an outsider only through representational devices, they can and do effect the culture's sense of its self. This conceptualization strives at transforming the very interpretation and essence of the center,

[65] Ibid.

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which has some notion of truth, the pure and authentic embedded within it. In Sethi's contemplation, the foreigner is a distinct visitor, perhaps only a step (or less) removed from the Pakistani visitors who will come to Jinnah's mausoleum as tourists. The education and spiritual experience of the mausoleum does not transcend the paradigm of modern tourism as momentary, diverting and disconnected. In Ahsan's view, the foreigner as a colonizer, imposing their doctrines of modernization, had returned through the processes of the international competition. Neo-colonialism, here was particularly objectionable because this time the government of Pakistan had itself awarded it to tell them how to organize their most private domain of commemoration, and veneration of their paternal figure. Its politics turn inwards. Jinnah's mausoleum, for Ahsan is not how we represent to the self and the other but purely a vehicle of self-identification, authenticating modernization, freedom of thought and mind. These desirables in this case are accessible by returning to what makes *'us'* a unique and special nation and hence occupying a distinctive place rather than an accidental one on the world's map.

Mohammad Ahadullah Siddiqui

Letter from Mohammad Ahadullah Siddiqui, artist to Fatima Jinnah, 16th April, 1957, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 19, 20. Translated by Shundana Yusaf.

A letter dated April 16th 1958 i.e. 26th Ramadan 1377 H, is at least the 3rd in the series of letters whose author proposes to have received a vision in the form of a dream regarding the nature of the tomb to be built over the grave of Jinnah (see appendix XI). Its writer Ahadullah Siddiqui[66] is a local artist from Karachi. His dream is the most detailed and explicit in its telling.

> The tomb's building is very large and tall. The contemptible climbed the steps and passed through the marble platform to arrive at the huge arch. He then passed through the door into the interior. The interior is very spacious. All four sides have very large arches. Each of these has doors. Each of the four corners has beautiful tall minarets. The ceiling is very high and is covered by a dome in the middle. [67]

This mausoleum is not a natural place. Its mesmerizing and awe inspiring spatial and formal elements are those of a contemplated architectural monument. It is an artifact, which

[66] Letter from Mohammad Ahadullah Siddiqui, artist to Fatima Jinnah, 16th April, 1957, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 19, 20.
[67] Ibid., p. 19.

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with all its external clues is indecipherable to Siddiqui who in the opening scene of the dream witnesses himself simply gazing at the large and tall building. It is not until a passerby announces the obvious, "This is it! The great mausoleum of Quaid-e-Azam"[68] that Siddiqui dreamily moves towards the steps in an involuntary stride that takes him first to the grand platform and then into the arched entrance.

The material qualities of the free-floating signifiers that together make the Object, become coherent and meaningful upon gradually experiencing the inside There are specific clues for him there. 'The tap in one corner' invites him to prepare for the prayer. No hint is given as to how the facility for the prayers makes itself evident. It perhaps *just is*. Is this what signifies freedom, self rule, self determination in the utopia of the dream? A set of cultural givens are advanced as pre-configurations, determining the rituals within Jinnah's mausoleum. Religious faith as the social demarcator of the majority of citizens is imagined unproblematically homogeneous. Islamic signs become tropes of self-identification and are posited as obvious and magically self-evident. Then the laborious, meditated, effective, external signs dreamt to design the tomb of Jinnah are grafted into the fluid and amorphous internal clues in the hope for harmony and unity.

What is muted in the process is the question of the other, difference within the self, of diversity, multiplicity. Constructing a system of partitions with their inner and outer surfaces, the smoothly divided spaces of Siddiqui do not simply leave out the cultural diversity suggested by Shah's dream or Ismailjee's *eidgah* and though in a defeatist and compromised way, the museum-cum-mausoleum of Sethi. It *relegates* them to it.

It is important to note that the materials, upon his entry into the mazaar do not simply unfold into activities, they contain activities. Materiality is not lost, but sustained in its place where it performs the important function of separating the inside from the outside. The materials condition the difference between what is contained within and what is left out, yet each preconditions the other. The obvious site of privilege, the inside is the domain of the religion as a social demarcator and the outside it's physical manifestation, the nation, the nation-state. There is no concept of Pakistan without Islam and no Islam in the sub-continent without Pakistan in this dream narrative. Siddiqui is not alone in such an imagining. Many of the writings from the civil domain commonly allude to this notion. The purpose of the nation really is to provide access to some core reality of Islam. It is therefore, not trivial that once having entered the mazaar, he stays there through the entire length of the dream and wakes up to the sweet calls for the morning prayers. But what is this inside? What lies within this qualitatively vacuous inside? Is there anything more than representation? Does the quality of

[68] Ibid.

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the space exceed its materiality, rituals, and representation? The spiritual aura that this future monument is expected to possess is indeed external to the quality given to it by domes, arches, minarets and marble. It is not even captured by the ritualistic representations and commemorative practices alone or the total effect achieved by the combination of these together but remains in excess of these.

The conception of the utopia in this case is unlike the topoi of Ismailjee, who is unconcerned with the inside of the mausoleum and remains restricted to the outer space of the nation. The evening strolling ground that reserves itself for an *eidgah*, maintains difference, contains contradictions without threatening the inner realm of the mausoleum. Inversely, the utopian mausoleum of Siddiqui is more curious about the inside. The outside is really a way to get to the center of the inner, spiritual domain, where difference must be dissolved—so much so that that problematic is not even within the conceptual frame of the author. Yet unlike Chatterjee's proposition and Sethi's suggestions, in both these cases, one is not imaginable without the other.

The interior of the *mazaar* is where visitors enter to ascertain their sense of belonging. In the idealism licensed by the dream, secret codes manifest themselves to the privileged visitor, in this case, Siddiqui. Moving through the monument, all the cleansing and meditational practices (ablution, prayer and fatiha) are revealed to him once he *overhears* that it is the mazaar of Jinnah. It is after the exposition of its significance by the exterior, that he conducts himself poetically and civilly. Free entry unravels into free circulation. Exchange and speech can occur without coercion in the space that is conceived as a destined space. Once recognized by Siddiqui, it allows access but only to those who have access to the inner domain of cultural life. It then becomes a venue of initiation, inauguration into the religiously defined nation so as to give confidence and assurity of once belonging to a people. It is precisely this inaugural ability of the mazaar that makes it something other and more than mere representation of the inner domain of culture in the economy of one place. The idealistic space that is complemented by idealistic practices where Pakistaniness and Islam are grafted into a spatial union does not take place without leaving the so-called spiritual domain unchanged. In fact, as suggested by most of the letters, here post independence nation launches its most powerful, creative and historically significant project, to fashion a 'modern' national culture that is reconciled with Islam. What is mute in these attempts and exercises at the conception of the mausoleum is the settlement of the moral and ethical influences of European enlightenment thought that have been so fully absorbed within this new consciousness of the religious demarcation. If the nation is the imagined community, then this is where it is being brought into being. Siddiqui then is not alone in aligning his narrative, with the argument that it is this struggle, this true and essential aspect that makes the nation sovereign, in fact worthy of sovereignty. "Bear in mind that a

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dream is a state of premonition. It is a privilege that this revelation came upon the unworthy, poor citizen."[69]

It is as if the letters are reminders to Fatima Jinnah, to remind her that it is Islam that makes "the unworthy poor" a "citizen" and worthy of revelation, connected to her through the bond of religious belief. Nation and Islam become each other's shields—each other's guarantees. This is not to say that the dominant elements of self-identification in post-colonial Pakistan were drawn from the ideology of modern liberal democratic state. The nationals of Pakistan were a different breed than the despotic imperialist rulers like the Mughals who squeezed the polity for their private interests. This distinction operates in the background. It is the modern political system that borrows many of its fundamental principles from certain 'modular' forms made available to them by Europe and Americas as Anderson argues[70]. Nationalism elsewhere is hence, a derivative of the continental models. But the insistence upon the definition of the collectivity by religious categories as determining cultural difference, now conceptualized bearing all the hall marks of modernization that South Asian nationalism, as at least presented by some of these letters that Anderson's argument is most forcefully challenged.

It is no surprise that the spatial and formal characteristics of Siddiqui's architectural monument are not historically referenced. In this regard, his conceptualization is in contrast to what Abdul Ahsan, a government architect from Rawalpindi is proposing. For Ahsan, the 'Mughal type' stands for a particular set of values or qualities that can still be brought to serve a representative purpose for an authentic image of Pakistan. The past glory of Muslims in the sub-continent is a proof of their rights of accession to nationhood. Siddiqui on the other hand, does not speak of any iconic titles that with time have changed their meaning, but he still speaks from within a well-established vocabulary. There is no blind repetition of older frameworks, and he would claim that every bit of this dream monument is ideologically purified. He does not let us forget that his monument is a premonition from God. He willed it.

The consistent referencing to himself in the first and third person along with a introspective mood that is sustained in the description of the events before and after the dream, giving all an equally important status is an effective technique. It establishes a seamless movement between the dream and waking. This in turn allows the folds of the substrate of all the ideological maneuvers on which the narrative is built to open a bit. The 26th of Ramadan, a night before *laila-tul-Qader* [71]during which the apriori exposé of the mausoleum manifested itself in the pre-desire form of a dream further legitimates an established form of traditional

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[69] Ibid., p. 20.
[70] Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 1983.

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discourse. The morning dream and its immediate recording on the paper is yet another step to solidify the disclosure of the *appropriate monument*.

Siddiqui's dream is the most romantically narrated of the three archived and filed dream narratives. It demonstrates his talents as an artist. The supplementation of his written account by a drawing is not an innovation, but a commonplace practice. This form of dream discourse is not without its rhetorical advantages. It allows him to make recommendations which otherwise he will have to intently defend, but now he does not have to worry even about coherence. Divine manifestations do not necessarily present things overtly. They may appear as riddles. Human ingenuity would be to decipher them in such a way that cues become transparent. Rahim Bakhsh proceeds in that manner but repeatedly retreats out of the fear of being incomprehensible to his reader, Fatima Jinnah. The shift between reality and dream, is therefore abrupt there. Siddiqui advances differently.

The dream allows him to flirt evenly with themes such as conscious-unconscious, waking-dream, material-practice, inside-outside, facilitated by the shifts between the first person and the third person referencing in the telling of the scenes. The interplay between the categories in these themes carried out by putting values on some of them while articulating a certain degree of neutrality to the rest presents us with an image of Jinnah's mausoleum as a vault of collective desire. The attempt is to articulate the relation between the individual and collectivity as concretely as possible, thus bringing to the front the contradiction in the very nature of desire itself. Here the dream wants to be a dream and reality at once. Since the manifestation of the possible monument *in concrete* will be at the cost of the death of the same possibility, a certain hesitance can be detected in the contents of the letters. What it emphasizes is the vision of the tomb be perceived as an occasion to facilitate communication within the nation. 'I hope that the vision of your brother Quaid-e-Azam's revealed tomb, (may God bless his soul), will be shared with the nation through newspapers and other mediums of, so they also can be enlightened with regard to this.'[72]

Inside—contained within the mausoleum is the desperate desire to incorporate something within the self that has gone through radical changes. The attempt is at the inclusion within the self of a certain classical version of Islam, that never existed, but was always an motivational and orienting myth. The reconciliation with the notion that in the anti-colonial nationalist attempt to get to the core of something that never was has created a desire out of complication of paranoia, distrust, as if one has been cheated of his own dream. Is religious

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[71] Laila-tul-Qadir is a national holiday in Pakistan. It translates as the night in which honor was bestowed, the night when the first verses of the Quran are said to have been revealed on Mohammad.

[72] Letter from Mohammad Ahadullah Siddiqui, artist to Fatima Jinnah, 16th April, 1957, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 20.

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freedom, the end or beginning of the nationalist demand? What becomes of Jinnah's body, what does it mean? What is the relationship of Siddiqui to it? What does it do for him? What kind of irreducible differences does it contain? What does it dissolve and what does it expose as in resolvable?

Faith is incorporated within the self, Jinnah is important for he facilitated this. Siddiqui is fully focused on what Jinnah has facilitated and gravitates towards that.

Hakim Mohammad Nawaz

Letter from Hakim Mohammad Nawaz from Dalwal, to Fatima Jinnah, 16th March 1958, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 21. Translated by Shundana Yusaf.

There are four national holidays annually commemorated with state-sponsored ceremonies at Jinnah's Mausoleum, his birthday on 25th December, death anniversary and 11 September, independence day on 14th August and Pakistan day on 23rd March. These events are routinely covered by all forms of media dissemination apparatuses that take the details of the day and its formal ceremonies to those who have never visited the mazaar and perhaps will never be invited to such ceremonies in person.

Of these four national commemorative days, 23rd March commemorates Lahore resolution, passed under the All India Muslim League (A.I.M.L.) leadership under Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah on 23rd March 1940 in Lahore. The resolution that was immediately interpreted and displaced as Pakistan resolution demanded the grouping of all Muslim majority provinces in one autonomous state *within* united India. The polemic based on Muslims not as a minority but the second largest nation in British India, under Jinnah demanded the preservation of their cultural difference that could not even be recognized in the secular verbatim and mindset of All Indian National Congress. The grouping of the five geographically discontinuous provinces was hoped to deliver on the promise of a just and equitable state, guaranteeing security of *Muslim-ness*, where destinies would be decided democratically. Unequivocally interpreted as an equivocal demand for an independent Muslim state with an international border between it and what will remain of India, on all sides of the ideological and political divide—23 March became a symbolic and celebrated day even before independence and creation of Pakistan in 1947.

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With Karachi being the capital and Jinnah, the architect, buried there, Karachi stole the focus from Lahore of 23rd March celebrations each year.[73] On 16th March 1958, Hakim Mohammad Nawaz sent twenty rupees in gift money from Dalwal, a town in Jhelum, Punjab (see appendix XII). The accompanying letter, addressed to Fatima Jinnah explained how the money was to be spent. On 23rd March, flowers worth 10 rupees were to be laid at the mazaar of Jinnah, five rupees were sent for Fatima Jinnah's secretary and five for her domestic servants to 'buy fruit with in the celebration of this mementos day.'[74]

It is as if the letter anticipates the burden that his tribute entails, i.e. the risk of creating misunderstandings. I am then tempted to read every idea and word in the letter as an attempt to eliminate the possibility of such a risk. Is it not improper and even impolite to send twenty rupees to someone of Jinnah or Fatima Jinnah's stature? If his gift-money is reduced to mere money or worse to the logic of exchange, it would quite simply annul the very possibility of a gift. He underlines this by noting the following argument, which in the single stroke of a pen, in the economy of one sentence proposes a problematized notion of giving that is not simply contrary to taking, but something other than taking. In fact, it suggests his gift to be totally foreign to taking, if not contrary to it. Hence, giving does not imply a return, a taking here. Nawaz writes,

> Admittedly though this (amount) is not worthy of being sent to someone of Janab's (Fatima Jinnah or Jinnah?) stature, but render forgiveness, *Alijah*, (sir) our faith suggests that this is being presented on the behalf of the pure soul of Quaid-e-Azam sahib. Moreover, our dear Mother of the nation Sahiba, we have been long desirous that someday invitation to Dalwal be accepted.[75]

The doubt is sealed off by doubling the gift, by giving an invitation to visit, an event pregnant with so possibilities of other events, other givings so as to prepare ground for reciprocity cleaned of any burden of return. It is what Aristotle in a passage in *Tropics* (125 a, 18) speaks of, a *dora* as *doris anapodotos*, a gift for once, that would not require restitution.[76]

Nawaz, we must note, is not offering a random gift, but a special spiritual devotional gift that announces the inauguration, renewal or continuation of a relation. Never is it intended

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[73] The political resistance to the highly centralized nature of the government of Pakistan by the provincial assemblies in 60s and 70s gave the provincial cities a chance to engineer their own apparatus to celebrate national and local events. The shifting of the capital to Islamabad and the building of a commemorative monument at the site of 1940 A.I.M.L. congregation in Lahore was to read as gestures of decentralization. Karachi is still an important commemorative site, less so because of its status as a provincial capital, and more so due to the location of the mausoleum within it.

[74] Letter by Hakim Mohammad Nawaz to Fatima Jinnah, 16th March 1958, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 22.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Cited in Jacques Derrida: *Given Time: 1. Counterfeit Money*, translated by Kamuf Peggy. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 81.

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to balance the relation but on the contrary, keeps it from even aiming at any notion of a squaring off. Belonging to the revolutionary nature of devotional gift is its ability to transcend its empirical constraints, making apparent deeper realities. 'If reason intervenes in the constitution of the symbolic' notes Derrida, 'it is as the substitution of the exchange for gift. In total there is no gift as concerns reason, not even as concerns a practical reason.'[77] The devotional gift is then a suspended dialectic in which the social without ceasing to belong to the domain of pure quality—anecdote, curiosity and ethics,[78] reveals itself also as a system of relations, interconnections and oblique equivalencies. Not withstanding the reality of power relations, it is precisely the devotional gift as a suspended dialectic that blurs the exclusivity of identities as givers and takers that Nawaz hinges his offering on.

The summoned Fatima Jinnah is the insignia or the sign of modernization to which Nawaz with his monetary offering has to remind the substrate of faith that lies behind his gesture. He does not give, he only offers. It is the pure soul of Jinnah that gives for the perishable flowers, that must wither and turn into nothing. The money for servants is to indulge in luxury as well, to buy fruit with in a celebration of the great day. The problematic of gift-money, only by turning into nothing, can become a pure symbol of gratitude, respect, love, faith. At the sign of this self-conscious modernization, represented by Jinnah and Fatima, the older institution of belief is redefining *'modernity'* but not without getting in the process redefined itself as well. There is an interface of religious belief of the below and the modernity of the bourgeois in the narrative of Nawaz. It links him to her, his offering to her accepting, offering that he does not give of himself but on behalf of Father, and one that she does not accept on her whims. What is provoked once again, is a dialogue pregnant with the notion of responsibility. The narrative proceeds from a reminder, about the source of giving, belief, pure soul. The gift is on the condition of the narrative, of money being spent on luxury—turning to nothing, leaving no reminder, but the letter, the ephemeral monument promoted by Nawaz.

Working through the theme and the problematic of the gift as invoked by his writing, I do not mean to imply that an identifiable subject such as our writer can be a giving subject if he/she makes a conscious attempt at it. In fact, with Derrida I would like to suggest that a bordered subject never gives without calculating, consciously or unconsciously reappropriating its circular return. It is the persistence of what Derrida calls the 'trace' and 'dissemination', then in Nawaz's attempt that a gift can take place.

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[77] Jacques Derrida: *Given Time: 1. Counterfeit Money*, translated by Kamuf Peggy. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 77.

[78] I would argue that ethics belongs to the sphere of pure quality apriori, which then suspends against the system of relations.

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along with the excessive forgetting or the forgetful excess that, as we insisted earlier, is radically implicated in the gift. The death of the donor agency (and here we are calling death the fatality that destines a gift *not to return* to the donor agency) is not a natural accident external to the donor agency; it is only thinkable on the basis of, setting out from (*a partir du*) the gift. This does not mean that only death or dead can give. No, only a "life" can give, but a life in which the economy of death presents itself and lets itself be exceeded. Neither death nor immortal life can ever give anything, only a singular *surviving* can give. This is the *element* of this problematic.[79]

Nawaz, indeed our donor, recedes to the background, behind Jinnah first and then the ephemerality of his letter and the voice of his attempt. A modern gift is perpetuated with the trace of all the past institutions resurfacing and regenerated within it. Nawaz's provocation triggers us to recognize the gift of time in Qayum's letter 'In spite of being a poor Muslim, I am willing to sacrifice as much time as needed,'[80] gift of labor in Bakhsh's mediated dream design and gift of concern in Shehzad Akhtar's complaint, who blurs the boundary between gift and duty.

It enables us to see writing of the letters as gifts themselves that are written knowing that there is a strong likelihood that nothing will come in return. Nevertheless they must be written. In addition to Jinnah, Fatima Jinnah, the nation and its state, these are gifts to us, for they give an insight that presents the commonplace in a unique genre.

Mohammad Gulzar Khan

Letter from Mohammad Gulzar Khan, Architectural Assistant, to Fatima Jinnah, 17 January 1959, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 23, 74, 75.

The conscious tracing of sources to a particular origin comes with its own politics. Considered from this point of view, Siddiqui's thematic seem revolutionary when compared to Gulzar Khan's more conservative invocation (see appendix XIII).

Mohammad Gulzar Khan, Architectural Assistant in a Consulting Architect's office in Bahawalpur, a small town in Southern Punjab, addressed a letter to the Chairman, Quaid-e-

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[79] Jacques Derrida: *Given Time: 1. Counterfeit Money*, translated by Kamuf Peggy. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, pp. 101, 102.

[80] Letter by Haji Abdul Rahim Abdul Qayum Khan to Fatima Jinnah, 25th August 1949, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 1. Translated by Shundana Yusaf.

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Azam Memorial Committee with a copy to Fatima Jinnah on 17 January, 1959, in which he applauded the government's decision to invite design proposals for the mausoleum. He went on to refer to a design he had submitted a decade earlier—his "first tribute to the memory of the Father of the Nation"—entitled Pak Mahal, and claimed that it had been appreciated by Ms Jinnah.[61] Indeed, a press cutting from *The Pakistan Times* from almost a decade earlier, on 14th July, 1949, did mention that Ms. Jinnah had received design proposals from a number of architects, including one called "Pak Mahal" from a "well-known architectural designer, Gulzar Khan".[62]

The second letter was prompted by the failure of the government to deliver on the project. The much-publicized international competition had fallen flat largely as a result of the public controversy led by Ms. Jinnah, and the newly installed military regime had opted to put the ball firmly in her court. Now for the first time in twelve years, she was entertaining proposals in an official capacity.

The political meaning and representation of the mausoleum titled Pak-Mahal, a permutation of Taj Mahal should be read in relation to the circumstances of its appearance. It is impossible to know the basis of Gulzar Khan's claim that his earlier design had been appreciated by Fatima Jinnah, since other than the cursory reference in the press it does not appear to have aroused official or unofficial comment. Be that as it may, the second letter suggests that the earlier design had been modified and rendered more modern in response to Ms. Jinnah's criticism that it was too close a semblance to its model, the Taj Mahal.

The attempts at the modernization of Taj Mahal, however, were limited to preserve its formal essence. If scale and proportions were tempered with, accentuating certain elements while suppressing others, arches replaced by flat lintels, the technique of presentation subdues all modifications. The iconic pylons of the Mughal monument eliminated from the outer platform, on which the building-proper rests, are replaced by the strategic location of Surro and Coconut trees in the attached sketch. As a consequence, the image comes close to what Lynn Hunt calls the 'zero-point of representation, in which there is no metaphoric content.

Pak Mahal invoked all the associations with Taj Mahal. If I suggested earlier that Gulzar's proposal was conservative, it could also be read as a radical image, meant to be reflection of reality and not a distorted, abstracted reinterpretation of it. Either way, response to it would be ambivalent. There is considerable commentary to suggest that Fatima Jinnah did

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[61] Letter from Mohammad Gulzar Khan, Architectural Assistant, to Fatima Jinnah, 17 January 1959, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 23, 74, 75.

[62] It is difficult to assert categorically that both the Gulzar Khan's are the same person, since he was referred to as a well-known architect in 1949 and signed himself ten years later as an architectural assistant. However, both the designs are called Pak Mahal, which would be too much of a coincidence. Be that as it may, this does not affect the substance of the discussion in the text.

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not countenance any association between Jinnah's memory and that of Mughal rulers, and especially between the Jinnah mausoleum and the tomb of the Mughal Queen Mumtaz Mahal. Representing the Quaid in the image conveyed by the pleasure abodes of the Mughal monarchy would undermine the fundamental principles of the independence movement.[83] Such distancing is evident from the comments of several prominent writers. Consider this comment by Ahmed Hasan Dani, a prominent archeologist with a nationalistic orientation. Writing in an official publication on the eventually approved and built mausoleum, Dani says:

> The mausoleum of the Quaid is the first of its kind built in Pakistan...What has been achieved is a monumental structure, which derives from old but is not a slavish imitation of the old tradition. Actually it partakes of the Muslim spirit of the past but is created to meet the new demand of the present in the technique of the present day...it may lead to further creation on its model...It is therefore not possible to characterize it as a garden tomb (*rauzah*) as we get during the Mughal period. In composition it *must* be seen alone standing high above the vast multitude of buildings that surround it at a lower level. Certainly by the creation of a massive structure, the greatness of the Quaid is automatically emphasized and he stands out high in the living memory of his faithful followers. This concept has been developed further and it is a great departure from the permanent pleasure-abode of the Mughals in a garden (*rauzah*). [84]

However, if thorough modernity was translated as foreign and western, there was a crisis at hand. The rejection of both traditional modes of political authority–on the one hand that represented by the person of the Mughal King and on the other hand by the symbols of the modern political idiom, namely the colonial rulers (be it the Queen or her Viceroy)—created a vacuum in the imagination of legitimate political authority. The rejection of the older iconology was meant to expose the fictionality of the 'master fictions' of old regimes, while setting apart a separate domain for the new conditions. But the immediate outcome is the absence of any acceptable symbols for representing the new polity and in particular the figure that was at once the father and the ideal leader.

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[83] While Pak Mahal did not meet the challenge of representation that would have appealed to Fatima Jinnah, spreading from inside out in three concentric tiers, the design, nevertheless is a diplomatic success. While it delivers on the challenge of bringing together the tomb of Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan within the same structure, Jinnah's sarcophagus, nevertheless, occupies the entire center, shared by Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan in the monument at Agra. Liaqat Ali's tomb, on the other hand, is in a chamber in the tertiary ring, accessible without any preparatory interior space, directly from outside. Furthermore, seven other empty identical chambers in the same edifice could suggest that he was not the only leader-heir to Jinnah's political legacy.

[84] Ahmed Hasan Dani, *The Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum in Pictures*. Islamabad: Ministry of Education Press, 1976, p. 7.

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The variety of designs proposed in the letters to Fatima Jinnah can be interpreted, at least in part, as creative responses to this crisis. Sethi, for example, sought to resolve the question of representation by splitting the image of be commemorated into two separate significations, one intended to preserve a certain purity and integrity of the other-worldly devotions and the other to cater to imagined political concerns related to the memory. The effort was to separate the intangible and hence the non-representational from the representative. In this way the 'real sentiment' could be defended against the possibility of the transmutation of its sacred symbolic value by tourist consumption. Multivalance of the monument to be is conceived as really nothing more than separable bivalence.

With the attentiveness of an adult, 7-year old Shehzad Akhtar bypasses the problem in the hope that future memorials may resolve it, and asks that the present memorial simply till the soil for the crop yet to be sown. Ahadullah Siddiqui, on the other hand, confronts the question of representation directly by proposing an inversion of traditional signs. He takes the architectural signs most commonly associated with Muslim monarchs in the sub-continent and elevates them into the sign of a new time by reproducing and neo-monumentalizing them. By making the signs worthy of a modern leader, he proposes them as a signification of a leader who had labored to become worthy of his status and the relationship of his people to him.

Gulzar Khan, whose professional training appears to be closest to Ahsan's, also takes a similar approach to symbolization. Whatever might have been the exact details of Fatima Jinnah's criticism of his work in 1949, Gulzar claims to have kept them in mind while revisiting the design a decade later. While his orientation is still towards a reworking of the themes of the Taj Mahal, his aim in 1959 is to modernize the image of the mausoleum and thus make it consonant to the memory of Jinnah as well as a representative of this new center. He writes,

> Any building resembling the great architectural feats of Mughal period can be a representative of Muhammadan Architecture and the Taj Mahal at Agra, ranks foremost amongst the monuments of that period. So, inspired by the great architectural qualities of Taj Mahal, as late as 1949 I had visualized the design of Quaid-e-Azam's Mausoleum after the design of this wonder of the world and named it as "Pak Mahal"...
>
> The old design has been modernized by introducing flat lintels instead of arches and by giving treatment of pylon to the four faces. Domes have been retained to depict our architecture...

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> I think my design is a combination of Mohammadan and modern architecture and is fully representative of our culture, civilization and architecture.[85]

While the drawing is very sophisticated and professional, the effort to harmonize modernity and tradition is quite primitive and even charming in its innocence. However, the problematic that motivates it is quite real. Gulzar's celebration of the Government's decision to suspend all contracts with the English designer William Whitfield, the winner of the 1957 competition, can also be seen in this perspective. While it is true that his expression of pleasure is motivated in part by the opportunity that occasions the renewal of *his own vision*, Gulzar describes it to a public concern, namely the problem of the foreigner–indeed the colonizer—who must be checked against and ousted. The unnamed foreigner is an inappropriate contender of the conceptualization of the national emblem of Pakistan, and Gulzar commends the government for undoing the situation created by the previous government.

> Needless to say that the design approved by the last Government would not have satisfied the people, much less the soul of Quaid-e-Azam who was all for banishing foreign influence from this land rather than for perpetuating it in the design of his own *Mazaar*. This bold step is being widely acclaimed. [86]

This is not meant to suggest that Gulzar was being completely sincere in this attempt. It needs scarcely to be reiterated here that this interpretation of Jinnah as someone on a crusade against foreign influence is a deliberate misreading, employed as a rhetorical device. Fatima Jinnah too, at no point in her fight penalizes Whitfield for his nationality. Her criticism is strictly and consistently on the basis of the design process, merit and the models used for referencing. Yet, the fact that Gulzar employs this particular rhetorical device suggests a certain perception of its relevance and legitimacy.

A related issue regarding the perception of legitimacy and relevance is the assertion regarding Mughal architecture as representative of Mohammadan architecture and the Taj Mahal as its best example. However, unlike the assertion regarding foreign influence, which is made presumably as a citizen, the second assertion invokes a kind of expert authority as an architect. This prompts an investigation into the nature and source of such authority. Edward Said, following Michel Foucault has already established that there is nothing mysterious or natural about expert authority. Yet we know that it is omnipresent, obscured and revealed in different guises. 'It is formed, eradicated, disseminated, it is instrumental' and as the letters, the corpus of our current research demonstrates, 'it is pervasive, it has status. It establishes canons

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[85] Letter from Mohammad Gulzar Khan, Architectural Assistant, to Fatima Jinnah, 17 January 1959, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 23.
[86] Ibid.

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of taste and value, it is virtually indistinguishable from certain ideas it disguises as true, and from traditions, perceptions and judgments it forms, transmits, produces."[87] Gulzar's authoritative statement hence can, indeed must be analyzed.

In noting what qualifies as the architectural heritage that is at once the source and witness of Muslim identity, what Gulzar misses out meanwhile is to question where taxonomic categories such as Mohammadan architecture comes from. What are its predicaments? Who and under what conditions did Taj Mahal become the canonical architectural form of the glorious and majestic Muslim presence in the history of the Indian sub-continent? What is its price? What does it mean today to embrace such icons as symptomatic of one's rightful belonging to a certain lineage? And more importantly, where does the following imaginary manifest itself as real in this case?

The term Mohammadan architecture was already a part of the established vocabulary when William Jones united the sporadic European research impulses in Hindustan under the umbrella of *Asiatick Researches*[88] in 1794. But it is the two volume *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876) by James Fergusson,[89] that alone can be credited with the full blown canonization of the term. Convinced that religious affiliations provided the key to understanding the people of India, he had almost of necessity to impose communal labels upon India's historic architecture. If all buildings and all stylistic elements could be seen as *Hindu* or *Muslim*, then where the elements were *mixed*, they were described as *blended* (e.g., at Fatehpur Sikri), or *bastardized* as in Oudh and Mysore.[90] Furthermore, he also defined all architectural elements as Hindu or Muslim. Everything—the arch, the dome, the bracket capital, the decorative motif, the construction technique, the material—had a place in this comprehensive system. Even a cursory study of his encyclopedic undertaking discloses how arbitrarily these styles have been constructed. The dates of different styles relate to different events. Some relate to the rise and fall of a dynasty, others to periods of major architectural activity and yet others to stylistic changes. Thomas Metcalf points out correctly that part of this reluctance rose from a realization that to talk of the taste of the times would reduce the opportunity to link architecture to politics.[91]

One hundred years after Fergusson, despite the discovery of new information (through archeological surveys and other historical evidence) that creates serious difficulties for the

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[87] Said, Edward W.: *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978, p. 17.
[88] *Asiatick Researches, or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia*. v. 1-20. Calcutta: Bengal Military Orphans Press, 1788-1839.
[89] James Fergusson: *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. II. London: J. Murray, 1876.
[90] Where the style was aesthetically pleasing and innovative, it was termed 'blended'; where found to be kitschy, it was called 'bastardized'.

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application of his methods, his framework is not only present in the writings of Percy Brown, it is accompanied by a new kind of insistence. Indeed, the validity of the matrix goes unquestioned, and in fact achieves almost a preexistent status. With Pak Mahal one sees a reinvigoration of the 19th century Orientalist canon, not its rethinking. The arbitrariness of classification along Mohammadan, Buddhist, Hindu was not an invention of the 19th century architectural surveys. Christopher Bailey points out that the British from the very outset imposed categories of analysis derived from religious affiliations and these remained a part of their Imperial tradition even outside India. However, the inappropriateness of these categories for the architectural production of the sub-continent is far more pronounced than for other cultural products.

Still this goes unquestioned by the nationalist architect in search of the *authentic*. What is unsuspectingly passed off as his own vision for Jinnah's mausoleum is only a rehearsal of how Europe has defined his lustrous past. In the same vein, the effort to look for some uncorrupted roots is the activation and mobilization of certain architectural tropes to further orientalize the self. This realization can certainly be a blow to the enthusiasm with which the foreign influence is desired to be ousted, the impossibility of ousting what has been incorporated into the self.

My examination is not aimed at subjecting Gulzar Khan to confront the predicament of his own logic. There is already an impressive corpus of post-colonial scholarship, which attends to such questions in an elaborate manner. The implication and meanings of such commemorative practices has been thoroughly flushed out there. If the incorporation of the other is complete and fully encrypted into one's identity that it only leaves traces and not an inventory as Gramci suggests, then we need to ask a different set of questions.

Using Derrida's notion of *trace*, I would like to return the problematic of sources of identity vis-à-vis the foreigner and self deduced from Gulzar's writing, to another question of who and what does the *giving*, And how we inquire into the manner of such giving—ethically and epistemologically. By posing the question in this manner, I raise a set of concerns that goes beyond the sphere of post-colonial studies central interests.

No doubt, the implication of thinking architectural inheritance, shot through the trace of another, creates a crucial ethical dilemma, for the Mohammadan architecture constantly recedes into the background. Taj Mahal, as a prevailing cultural phenomenon—a category by itself that does not require 19th century European classification of Indian architecture, for its canonization, also does not avail itself very easily anymore for its reappropriation. But the conventional practices of identity construction before and since modernization have always been selective. Knowing that there is no access to the authentic, pure and ready-made, the desire for it has been

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[91] Thomas Metcalf: *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. Berkeley: University of California

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maintained. "With the real loss of the object having been rejected and the desire having been maintained but at the same time excluded from introjection, incorporation is a kind of theft to reappropriate the pleasure object." But that reappropriation is simultaneously rejected. A conventional way of doing so has been to objectify the outsider, *the foreigner* in ways, so that it can easily be separated from self-image and muting the trace or the imprint that it leaves within, as a primordial part of the self. Identity construction through commemorative practices or else wise is at best an exercise in approximation and compromise. The gradual, slow and the mediated toil in the writings to Fatima Jinnah in an undertaking of the challenge posed by the need to think of signs and symbols creatively. The endeavor is accompanied by its conscious and unconscious corollaries.

Abdul Hussain Thariani

Letter from Abdul Hussain Thariani, to Fatima Jinnah, 23 February 1959, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum,* Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 23, 68, 70, 72,7 4.
and
Letter from Abdul Hussain Thariani, to Fatima Jinnah, 21 September 1959, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum,* Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 27.

Naqvi and Siddiqui, a design firm in Karachi, solved the formal challenge of the mausoleum by returning to elemental forms, pulled apart to be brought together again in simplified and visually articulate manner. Students of Mehdi Ali Mirza, the most celebrated architect in the history of architecture in Pakistan, at Delhi polytechnic, they had submitted a design in conjunction with their third partner Mohammad Salim Thariani and a Russian architect,[92] for the international competition we have been periodically referring to. They shared the third prize with an Australian entrant.[93] The principle behind their design approach seems to be strictly close to the avant-garde experiments in art and architecture (see appendix XIV). The play of form in its highly conscience functionalism in the gigantic, severe and brutalistic concrete structure as a resolution to the monument's symbolism firmly locates it in the International Style fever of the 50's. This was an ethical and responsible response to the question of representing Jinnah's radicalism itself, hinging upon multi-layered, metaphoric and

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Press, 1989, p. 54.
[92] We do not know the name or exact affiliation of Naqvi and Siddiqui Co. with the Russian architect, mentioned in the writings.
[93] Both the second and third awards were split between two competitors each. In other words, between three prizes there were five winners.

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abstract messages. The formal resemblance of the proposed mausoleum to the state mosque in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, built in 1955, is telling of the influences at work here.[84] Salim Mohammad Thariani, liked many of the internationalist working outside Europe and North America was trained in Europe (England).[85] He brought his academic training along with the influence of other active internationalists in the South, to the drafting table. But there is no mention of such affiliations in both published and archived records either by the architects or their most vocal spokesman, Abdul Hussain Thariani, Salim's father. It is not surprising. It was the prevailing architectural mood of the moment from within which they worked, contributing their individual and corporate ideas to it.

Hussain Thariani, himself an architect from Bombay, who had moved to Karachi just before the partition in 1947, had also entered a design in the competition, but his design did not qualify for the finals. With the government's announcement to suspend Whitfield's commission, he made his bid to secure the commission for his son's company. In a letter to Fatima Jinnah, he invoked his past business relations with Mohammad Ali Jinnah (see appendix XIV and XV). In 1929, he had designed the tomb of Jinnah's wife, buried in Bombay. Writing on behalf of his son, the separate firms of the father and son are conflated, in addition to heuristic purposes to enable him to make a claim over the commission in both personal and professional capacity. He reminds Fatima Jinnah that in the given situation, where the first prize has been rejected, it was them who deserved the next chance, purely on the basis of merit, for their design was the most successful of the Pakistani entries. So if a Pakistani architect was to be involved, they wanted to be that architect. They had proved their competence in the past. Designers of numerous large projects, they were also the privileged architects of the then tallest building in Pakistan.

The form and content of the request is very different from the suggestions made by earlier writers who perceived themselves to be addressing Fatima Jinnah from the uncertainty of their marginalized positions. It could be argued that Thariani's tone had the confidence of someone speaking from the center. The personal connections, a sign of one's access to power and hence social status, plus professional capacity of the successful bourgeois architect would only facilitate that. Unlike others, supplicating his personal privileged position, he requests a favor. In contrast, most of the other correspondents are steps removed. They are writing more to establish a connection with their addressee, to secure a position from where what they say becomes important.

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[84] Hasan-Uddin Khan: *International Style: Modernist Architecture from 1925 to 1965*. Köln (Germany) and New York: Taschen, 1998.
[85] Mumtaz, Kamil Khan: *Architecture in Pakistan*. Singapore: Concept Media, 1985.

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Though Thariani also needs to secure his position and locate himself to catch Fatima's attention, but he does not go through elaborate rhetoric and persuasion the low uses in an attempt to address the bourgeoisie, always looking for a point of connection to hinge their communication on. Religious faith, nation, desire, concern, gratitude, duty or any combination of these may provide this connection. In comparison, Thariani's first and foremost concern is to secure the commission in reach.[96]

While it is important to highlight the distance between the addressee and the addresser, this does not mean that the non-architect is more generous and a giving subject, while the architect does not give anything without calculating, consciously or unconsciously its reappropriation, its exchange, or its circular return. The difference is not on this account but of approach.

The primary geometric modules chosen by this group of architects, are circle, sphere and the cylinder. They work with identifiable segments of each reducing to a minimum arcs so minor that their centers are hard to find. So deeper curves have been used, employing a more abstract from of discernability. Unlike Gulzar, Siddique or other earlier design proposals, which go back to the history of Muslim architecture in the sub-continent for inspiration, this design seeks a more universalistic form of referencing system. Intersecting arcs of the ubiquitous circular module are refine the shape of the site, enclosing it within proposed and existing but redefined existing roads. Instead of being constrained by the urban schema that defines and constrains the shape of the site, the proposal ventures out and the public space of the mausoleum seeps into its surroundings. Landscape elements like the geometry of the Mughal or the Safavid *charbagh*, its square modules and sub divisions into smaller square or diagonal sections in plan reappear in concrete and marble floor patterns in cascade and marble floor patterns leading to the domed mausoleum that rests directly on the floor. The floor patterns are so abstracted that they can be located in medieval European and *charbagh* design alike. It awakens a beholder to the foreignness of the *charbagh* geometry itself that has evolved out of the centuries of experimentations in different parts of the Muslim world before being introduced by in the fifteenth century in India by Babar. Such interventions littered throughout the specialization of the design id pregnant with the possibility of problematizing of the entire terrain of identity discourse with its constant polarizations like us and them, inside and outside.

Naqvi and Siddiqui do not evoke traditional, historical or religious themes without substantial modifications. Instead of a *madrasa* or the *fatiha khani darbar* one encounters a

[96] Eight months late when the state announces that the project has been finally assigned to the Indian architect, Yahya Merchant, Thariani revises his position. Still trying to get the prestigious job, this time, he proposes to be hired as local architects. See letter from Abdul Hussain Thariani, to Fatima Jinnah, 21 September 1959, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 27.

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revolving restaurant hanging from a free standing 450 feet high cylindrical elevator shaft. The evening strolling grounds are integrated but without the promise of an *eidgah*. The shops mark the sensual curvilinear periphery of the premises with shops. Instead of looking inward or backward, Naqvi and Siddiqui look elsewhere. They look to the present, across national borders. The design tries to juggle the same dialogue at many levels, meaning different things to different audience. It at once aims to speak to the international and domestic spectators, articulating the architectural agenda of the architect explicitly.

Looking back upon all the letters introduced up till this point, one detects that those inclined towards a modernist orientation propose such functions as museums, training centers (especially technical schools) viewed as the episteme of modernization. Naqvi and Siddiqui have added another option in this regard, namely that of a restaurant and shopping mall. Thus, we have contrasting perceptions of the visitor as a devotee or worshipper on the one hand, and the visitor as cultural/ historical connoisseur or student on the other hand. To these two has been added the spectacle of the visitor as consumer.

While it cannot be argued that education (especially technical and research), cultural appreciation by collection of its signs in specific places or consumption are intrinsically 'modern' practices, in the South Asian context, specially in the manner they are being conceived, they are meant to be markers of modernization. One of the ways to interpret the variety in proposals is that each is an attempt to reconcile the traditional image and its source of identity with what is conceived as modern, even secular nation-state. As mentioned, this has often times taken the form of imagining the visitor to the mausoleum in a variety of roles in accordance with the particular cultural identity that is being projected. The implication here is that the legitimacy of the symbol could be validated by its ability to attract visitors. In a radio interview, decades later, in the late 70's Abdul Hussain Thariani recollected what guaranteed the success of his son's design.

> If the 200' diameter dome did not have a 450' high minaret, the mausoleum would have just buried under its own mass. The minaret adjusted its proportions. Imagine a 450' tall minaret with a revolving restaurant cantilevering and hanging from its top having five lifts to access it. There will not be a soul in Karachi, neither visiting from outside, not a citizen of Karachi, who will not gravitate towards it to get a view of the entire city from there. I cannot imagine anyone who can resist such an attraction and who will not want to get at least a cup of tea there. And we had proposed a one-rupee fee for the lift to generate income. In this way, we could have had a recreational spot, for which people would have been willing to pay and also get a visit to Quaid's mausoleum. So

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there were many facets which were really so interesting and would have given the mazaar some utility as well.[97]

While one could find Thariani's frankness distasteful and diverting, burying the memory of Jinnah in other sensations, other proposals were trying to grapple with the same question. How to ensure that the site a certain urban signification, usable and lively public space which would have continued urban attraction. Each proposal, then provides an insight not only into its designer's own relationship to the amorphous identity of the nation as well as its founder, for example, Shah seeks a space for the visitor as a worshipper, while Ismailjee's space and user can change roles. His spatial conception hence is more attuned to the nature of collective identity and notion of citizenship, he is setting up. In each suggestion for the mausoleum whether procedural, programmatic or design oriented is a means of supporting the cultural identity that one associates with the new nation.

However, this raises another question, namely the imagined relation of the design to Jinnah. In this regard, the traditional approaches tend to posit a more personal and immediate relation with the alive-dead. For example, the visitors to the birth house of Jinnah are there, in principle, to bestow prayers for the peace of soul of the one *who indebted them to him*. The modern conceptions, on the other hand, range from abstract associations or more appropriately what the nation represented to them. The connection at best comes out as of a visitor as a consumer, or as a student, if not a student while or through practices of consumption. In these exercises, consumption is not pejorative, instead liberating. It gives the mausoleum its urban utility in ways that makes here symbolism, a luxury. This split in conceptual approach, I would argue is fundamental to the way the world is configured and understood by the modernist architects of the 50's and 60's in Pakistan and their more traditional counterparts. The only direct relation between the monument and Jinnah seems to be posited by his relics and memorabilia, the museumification of Jinnah's memory. Perhaps to overcome this deficiency, such designs try to make the connections explicit, that at best can be described as crudely overtly and what Lynn Hunt calls zero degree of representation.[98] Is it not perplexing that such direct referencing manifest itself even in the otherwise highly abstracted form of Naqvi and Siddiqui mausoleum. The naming of the three entry arches after the most famous words of Jinnah to his followers, 'Faith, Unity, Discipline' in this case is promoted as the proof of the profundity of their design. It promotes the principles of Jinnah. The least worked through aspect of the design becomes its most salient feature. It is the naming and engraving the three

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[97] Transcript of an *Interview of Sabir Thariani* by Zulfiqar Ali Bukhari. Radio Pakistan, 1978. Islamabad: Sound Archives, Government of Pakistan.

[98] Lynn Avery Hunt: *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, p. 109.

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words on the inner skin of the giant dome that the architects display as evidence of their insight into the inner workings of the national culture of Pakistan. It legitimates them as them as the most appropriate and insightful competitors for the project. I would argue that this is the centering and nationalization (i.e. nationalist gesture) of the internationalists.

Ainuddin

Letter from Ainuddin to Fatima Jinnah, undated, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 56-67.
and
Letter from Ainuddin to Fatima Jinnah, 4 October 1959, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 28.

If some push westwards while the rest pull eastwards, in the toil to bring the center closer to their ideological or at least aesthetic preferences, there is yet another position that I call the *popular centralism*. Often dismissed as 'bizarre and quaint at best, and bad, irresponsible, irrelevant, inappropriate, divisive and corrupting at worst,'[99] they cannot be discharged as non-ideological or non-positioned. Ainuddin's design speaks from such a populist location (see appendix XVI). Described by him as 'compromise,' those who operate from within this position craft forms out of what falls in the middle by itself. It is only this aesthetic typicality that is meaningful and valuable as true representation of the spirit of the time.

Ainuddin then feels justified to include all the programmatic devices that have been an integral part of urban life. The shops, restaurants, library, mosque and an oriental school, all appear side by side in the same scheme. The mausoleum building is star shaped with elaborate cantilevers. Four out of five sides are identical in all respects while the main entrance is articulate by a different set of detailing patterns. A two-storied colonnade encapsulates the mausoleum that sours up from within its center to an imposing height, so as to give it urban visibility and prominence. The complex form of this colonnade emerges from the intersection of five moon-shaped concrete structures representing, according to the architect, the five provinces of Pakistan. It functions as the two-tiered parking garage. Seventy-two steps leading from the lower level of the colonnade raises the platform of the mausoleum building above their roof level of the garage. Each step represents a year in the life of the real man. The plan for the landscape that only appears in the master plan is equally elaborate. Repudiating references to any architectural precedents, it looks for the organization of kiosks towards an acultural theme

[99] Kamil Khan Mumtaz: *Modernity and Tradition: Contemporary Architecture in Pakistan*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 91.

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as a source of inspiration; that of the solar system, but one who's planets have gone out of orbit, forming a looser configuration. The nine planets with their moons, Ainuddin instructs, should be constructed sometime later like the airform houses. These then will function as visitor kiosks. 'One of these structures—representing Saturn—to be located where the Old Exhibition is now situated, will house shops and restaurants.'[100]

The mausoleum and its environs conceived, as a theme park is committed to giving the end-user whatever they want. Contrary to what Partha Chatterjee would suggest, they neither want to separate nor choose between past and future, convention and change, sacred and profane, light and profound. These categories, whether analytical or practical are interconnected. It is precisely this attachment and fusion between them that gives national existence its complexity and richness. Besides this, the nationalistic space of the mausoleum should be inclusive and allow for all shades of society. It should have something for everyone.

> The deign is a compromise between the demands of currently accepted architectural standards and the sentimental attachment of the people of Pakistan to the traditional Islamic form. This attachment cannot be brushed aside, no matter how much sophisticated opinion may chafe at it.[101]

The hybridity of Ainuddin's spatial narrative comes from attending to the current architectural standards and the sentimental attachments of its users, alike. To them the mausoleum must give a sense of belonging and ownership. Although this does not prerequisite compliance with current architectural standards, attention to them is indeed important, even if so only for representational purposes. The acknowledgment of the architectural merits of Jinnah's mausoleum by others will be another measure of its stature that would provide reassurance and promise.

In this popular and populist approach, while the emphasis is on crafting and detailing each and every feature of the design, each element is equally emphasized. There is no outstanding prioritization, nothing is subdued to highlight something else. Each element is imbued with meaning that is accumulative, but also independent part of the same hybridized narrative. Articulation does not rely on different levels of detailing but manifests itself mainly through size and location. Hence, even in this democratic scheme, the center has a privileged status.

The sub-continental Islamic touch in the design is assigned to the mazaar. It forms the inner, sentimental core that accounts for the nostalgia that the design tries to cater for. The sentiments that the architect detects in the public do not arise out of a sense of duty and

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[100] Letter from Ainuddin to Fatima Jinnah, undated, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 56-67.
[101] Ibid., p. 56.

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obligation to God and his word. It is part of the desire that is institutional, that now has become immediate, direct, sometimes hallucinatory. The very elements of incorporation, a kind of theft of what is already particular, local and internal, but not natural, the design approaches to reappropriate and reclaim them as legitimate part of one's heritage.

The landscape, in which such an empathic artefact will stand, is said to impart a 'modernistic touch' to the scheme. For this Ainuddin looks not to historically established architectural standards but to a truly universalistic image of the solar system, in an attempt to connect the nation to the heritage of humanity.

Appearing only in master plan, the landscaped section, in comparison, is part of the desire that demands mandatory inclusion. I emphasize the idea of 'inclusion' in order to say that it is part of the project of Self-enlargement and mandatory in order to point to the need to look and belong to the what lies outside it. Introjection of 'a modernistic touch' is food for ego. It facilitates looking outwards. In contrast to incorporation, it is part of the desire one includes for its long-term benefits. In contrast to incorporation, it is then the calculated, contemplated, toiled over and toiled for rational and reasoned exterior. Sentiment and reason, operative like the discourse on modernization and tradition at each other's periphery, also feed off each other.

The striking feature of Ainuddin's design when seen against his polemic of inclusion, attention to elements of desire (though unconsciously), is not a passage from exteriority to interiority, or as in the case of Ahadullah's dream, from the accessible to the inaccessible. Surprisingly, it calls the sentimental (nostalgia for one's architectural inheritance) and the sub-sentimental (recognition to raise to international architectural standards, brought into the service of ego), only to facilitate looking outwards. This outside, in no way restricted to the image of the non-Pakistani foreigner, does not engage with the internal space of the mausoleum at all. All the drawings and photographs of the model, refers purely to the organization of exterior. It is as if the idea of the mausoleum conceptualized through the diagrammatic theme of the solar system, was what drove the design, into which function and programme was then injected.

Such a centralist position cannot be simply dismissed as the path of least resistance by those who are perplexed by its aesthetics and consider themselves as the only 'legitimate architects.' The incomprehension caused by the inability to push through the aporia of its kitsch taste cannot be resolved by casting it away. Kamil Khan Mumtaz, premier architect of Pakistan, and a great proponent of *traditional architecture* does not consider this genre even worthy of a name. He describes them as

> Buildings which are informed neither by conventions of a traditional craft nor by the process of design...They are divisive because it sharpens the contrasts and reinforces the schisms in societies already plagued by acute disparities. It is

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corrupting because it reflects identities which are false and represents goals which are unattainable.[102]

I would argue that these buildings might reflect false identity and represent unattainable goals, but the attempt is to get as close as possible to the very pulse of this falsity. On the charge of divisiveness, Kamil Khan Mumtaz seems to have missed once again, the point altogether. Ainuddin's design and supplementary text claims an attempt at the exact opposite, i.e. to dissolve the schisms rather than reinforce them.

Aesthetically poles apart, Ainuddin like Naqvi and Siddiqui also has a heightened awareness to communicate at multiple levels of the national and the international imaginaries. These diverging and at times contradictory tendencies of retention and protension, of incorporation and introjection are being reconciled in an effort to be local and global at the same time. They appear as a part of the same desire—wanting to retain one's collective individuality and learn from what the other can give. What is absent from the articulations whether in the pre-conscious-conscious system of words and texts or in the unconscious system of representation of things, drawings ect., is the vision of what you give to the world, of what you have to say to your others. In this way, like the individual voices of the writers of these letters to Fatima Jinnah, the mausoleum and the collectivity it represents is also truly subaltern, occupied on all accounts with the crafting of a position from where to speak to the global.

Mistri Abdul Ghafoor

Letter from Mistri Abdul Ghafoor to Fatima Jinnah, undated, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, p. 68. Translated by Shundana Yusaf.

It is precisely the attentiveness to different realms of engagement that the mausoleum must avail itself to, which separates the popular-centralists from those who can tentatively be called vernacularists. Mistri Abdul Ghafoor would fall into the latter category. The ideas attached with the word *vernacular*, no matter how problematic or vague, always concern themselves with the local and are bounded to the expression of a particular region. Ghafoor's proposals for Jinnah's mausoleum takes over from such a conceptual frame of locality, at the same time breaking with it (see appendix XVII). This rupture takes the form of the *local* being brought into the service of the *national*, extending itself beyond the topographical frame to a larger region. International, however, exceeds its conceptual frame.

[102] Kamil Khan Mumtaz: *Modernity and Tradition: Contemporary Architecture in Pakistan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 91.

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Ghafoor's two *'Punjabi'* proposals for the mausoleum in Karachi are suggested as potential possibilities. He regrets the lack of site and topographical information as the main reason for his unfinished designs. Though this is plausible but there could be different reasons for the sketchy and incompleteness of all his drawings; plans, elevations, sections and details. They could be so because local craftsmen like Abdul Ghafoor do not rely on the precision based drawing conventions to the same extent as the more formally trained artisans, draftsmen or architects do. It is not the drawings that forms the portfolio but the final product. Drawing then is only for reference, not for recording or litigation. It therefore remains mostly impressionistic. Working from within a well-established vocabulary, variations are often in compositions and minor detailing.

There are two different design alternatives. One has a scaled plan and partial elevation explained with blown up details of calligraphy, pillars, arches and composition of the entrance volume. The plan does not indicate the exact location of the grave but the exacting symmetry of a square within a square implies that the grave, as we have encountered in a number of cases earlier, occupies the center of the plan. As such it could be located in the middle of a square shaped chamber that is accessible only through a single arched entrance. The corners of this building are marked by large and stalky square minars, each culminating in an onion dome. The height lost by the largest ribbed onion in the center due to its lower springing point is gained by its souring copper pinnacle. The profusion of forms, elements and ornamentation is reminiscent of Ainuddin's mausoleum composition. But there is a fundamental difference between the strategies of the two, in addition to referred vocabulary. While parts of Ghafoor's building are not competing for attention, as we have mentioned earlier, Ainuddin gives everything the same treatment. If Ghafoor's entry is ornate, the minarets framing it are simplified. Out of the five ribbed domes, larger and more pronounced sections, and drum distinguishes the central one. The prefabricated columns and stucco floral motifs, he reminds Fatima, are not a product of some time passing hobby or idleness, but a *labor of love* and have been thoroughly thought through. They are the products of his devotion to Quaid-e-Azam.

The same element of the tower reappears in the second opinion but this time instead of rising out of the ground, it emerges from a ship firmly stationed on land. A kind of cross-fertilization between the vernacular and imperial water boats and palaces reminiscent of Kashmir, onto which a more Punjabi, vernacular is grafted is nationalized. Two flags framing the mausoleum that stem out of the boat confirm the image of national. The fusion that makes this opinion hybrid, is different from Ainuddin's sensibility of compromising inwards and outwards or old and new. This instead is an amalgamation of forces from different regions expanding the same genre of the vernacular, also drawing upon high and low within it.

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Indeed, the vernacular is a dying art. The efforts of the self-proclaimed traditional conservationists are important in this respect, not for the preservation of forms but the endangered episteme that such a craft informs. 'The story is coming to an end,' announces Mistri Haji Ghulam Hussain, also from Gujrat, in an interview. Complaining about the state of the craftsmen working on traditional patterns, he further notes

> The new buildings are again going for the old forms. But I say, where are they going to get the men to make those arches?
>
> They will all be done with a compass (i.e. circular or segmental0. But if you were going to ask them for an oval or a satth (sixty) or a trey-hissee (tri-partite), nobody knows how to construct these. No one can draw a sixty arch. An oval, no one even knows what an oval is, let alone be able to delineate it. Leave aside the compass, if we are to make the line of an oval, how do we draw it?[103]

The oval, multifoil arches, brick domes, all the elements represent of the glory of the craft dying ornaments now appear in the sketches for the mausoleum, not as inventory, I would suggest but as a testimony of the builders caliber. The conscious-unconscious system of the gift, of love of a Punjabi craftsman, can also be read as an effort to save what is threatened and is dying. Jinnah's status and the consequent focus and contestation over his mausoleum could change tastes. It could bring the pervasive, yet marginalized techne into light, closer to center.[104]

Unsigned

Unsigned letter to Fatima Jinnah, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 81, 83.

It cannot be claimed with certainly that the untitled and unsigned drawing filed next to Mistri Ghafoor is a proposal for Jinnah's mausoleum (see appendix XVIII). But in addition to being filed along other drawing and correspondences to Fatima Jinnah about the same monument, it gives a number of indications in its design that connects it to the mausoleum. The star and crescent together, a motif that since its appearance on Pakistani flag has acquired dominantly nationalistic and official connotations repeats itself in this design. We have encountered the same pattern in Ainuddin's earlier popular centralist design as well. More than any other, this signs most conspicuously and directly points to a space that wants to be first and foremost

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[103] Ibid, p. 27.
[104] Paul Oliver (ed.): *The Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture* of the world. Cambridge, U.K. & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

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nationalistic in its invocation. The other motifs like the square and circular geometry, raised platform, free standing columns, fountains, pedestal lights rising from the base of the platform to illuminate and mark the area are less specific. The highly articulated form that borders the base of the platform suggests it to be made out of cobbled stone but this is highly unusual and perhaps also unprecedented. What the drawing is more likely to be marking is a waterbed with curvilinear edges from within which the platform of the architectural forms rise. There is precedence for as such an element that goes back in time. It appears in the Hindu and Buddhist temples, Mughal and provincial pavilion gardens and in provincial palace architecture till late 19th century and early 20th century. One can find its multiple transformations today as well. But the use of cobbled tiles for cascading and texturing the water surface is particularly a Mughal introduction as borrowed from Iran, Isfahan in particular. In the proposed structure it appears in a slightly reconfigured form.

Coming back to the overall composition, form and material are deployed to ensure that the monument is culturally located, familiar and legible, not by slavish imitation but by a creative process. Creativity, imagination and convention complement each other. Interested mainly in the investigation of how and what is being attempted here, the aesthetic success remains somewhat irrelevant to my analysis. This does not seem to be the case for its architect. If one avoids getting distracted and diverted by part-plan, part-axonometric, part-perspective-like sketch that freely combines drafting and free-hand drawing techniques, we will realize what is being captured here. Yet we cannot completely ignore the drawing for it gives us clues about the architect. It is someone who has facility with drafting tools and instruments but is not very familiar with the connections of presentation of architectural drawing.

The accumulation and assembly of elements in this case is perhaps less informed by a polemical use of the historical precedence than by aesthetic judgment. This does not mean concerns like representation, identity, image of a hero, debt of a nation, notion of gift or similar themes that we see in other designs pulsating with, are fully present here too, even if more unconsciously so. Aesthetic preferences of forms, geometry and spatial treatment are precisely what are summoned up to testify to one's presence, a declaration of an immediate, unmediated version of self-assertion.

In my estimate, the main contribution of this design to our collection of proposals is its successful corrosion of the boundary between inside and outside that has been crucial to the narratives or at least our analysis of the narratives of earlier designs. The rigorous dissociation that nevertheless remains theoretical in Sethi's scheme or the possibility of compromise and passageways, thus the structural permeability of the partition—has been done away with. The division between inside and outside has been replaced by a less polarized mechanism of open and covered spaces. The cover protects without visual disconnection, hiding or interrupting

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access to the spatial organization. Contrary to the reassigned signs of the star and crescent this characteristic is reminiscent of sufi shrines, where a series of preparatory devices brings the devotee, the *matloob* (one who demands) to the focal point, to the place of prayers, to the tomb where the source of his connection is encrypted. This cannot be designated as the attempt of the low to claim a right over the space of the bourgeois in any unqualified manner. For a traditional shrines have been perceived as the place which dissolves hierarchies, social, gender, religious and so on, the most serious and endurable markers in a society, even though it does so temporarily, within the confines of its heterotopic location. Though it is suggestive of a popular shrine, it does not partake all its qualities. It is a special space that though is inspired by and understood within such an other localization, is still distinct from it. The competing recall of landscape features from imperial gardens, elevated platform, water fountains, and free-standing colonnade amongst other elements locates it in the domain of—an entity that in late fifties was still considered by many as more privileged than any smaller locality; the nation.

Irshad Burney

Letter from Irshad Burney to Fatima Jinnah, 27 October 1959, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 29-33.

In 1959, Irshad Burney was a practicing Pakistani architect in Manchester, England, trained and educated at the College of Art, Manchester. For his master's thesis, he had worked on a design proposal for Jinnah's mausoleum, which had had been recently published in Dawn, a daily English newspaper and was covered by a luke warm descriptive article. The same option had also been submitted to Fatima Jinnah as well. She had critiqued and dismissed it in expressing her preference for something purely Islamic. His present letter, last in our series of architectural submissions, summons up Fatima Jinnah into response—to respond to a critique of her critique in order to put rest, what had been disturbing him for a while; her declaration of a preference for the *pure* (see appendix XIX). In doing so, he ties up a theme that resurfaces in a number of prior letters that we too have been putting up, namely the questioning, search or cleansing of what is available as heritage or recover an originary referent, the pure and authentic, sign of one's presence. The exercise, in the process modifies the very notion and need for the original.

A mention of his design both commences and culminates his argument but it does nothing more than parenthesize it. The declaration at the beginning of the letter is not about his proposal anymore is thus honored. Bringing the content of Fatima Jinnah's critique to the fore,

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instead, it is taken up to draw attention to the predicament and corollary of the position she had announced.

The author draws upon the authority of eight years of training in architecture, with two of those years devoted to the research and thinking through the history of Islamic architecture, setting this up earlier on in his letter. He reminds his respondent of the validity of his own disclaimer issued against the full Islamicness of Mughal architecture, irrespective of spatial and temporal experiences. The history of Islamic architecture, like all other cultural fields are shot up with an imprint of what preceded it. I would argue that this irreducible imprint of the past in Burney is not simply a passive surviving of the apriori or the *non* in *Muslim* architecture. Instead it is an immutable core as the apriori violence within the self that has been *suppressed* into peace. The notion of origin of Islam presupposes, non-Islam, each preconditioning each other. This is not to say that light is preceded by dark, but its cultural dictates, including architecture, for which it does not even give a dictation cannot lay claim to some immaculately conceived origin entirely free from its past. This is the crux of the first part of Burney's argument.

> The influence always seems to have been from outside and from non-Islamic sources; and there is no reason to dispute this fact which is quite understandable in view of our past history. We all know that the religion of Islam emerged from Arabia at a time when two well-established civilizations were already reaching their prime in two different parts of the world. (There was the Buddhist and Hindu civilization in the East and the Christian civilization in the West.) We are also aware of the fact that the Arabs, before the rise of Islam, were considerably backward and were familiar with only a primitive way of life...the Muslims did not possess a style of architecture of their own to start with. [iii]

On the question of originary referent, Burney comes out with two additional charges. First, if the prophet's house initiates such an event as it is the first recorded building ever erected by a Muslim, it in itself has transformed to such a degree of unrecognition that one does not know for sure what to go back to. With the territorial expansion of the Muslim dynasty, its successive occupants, the wealthier caliphs made additions and changes to the primal site as mandated by the needs of the time. With regard to the architectural style, the alterations were dictated predominantly by the taste of individual patrons. Changes hence, were arbitrary, for the doctrine too, Burney reminds us, is silent on this question. What has been maintained is a set of basic principles like privacy and protection, which are primordial qualities, extending to all domestic architecture, before and after that.

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Second, Burney insists on the unreplicability of the original referent, even if it could be theoretically reconstructed from verbal records. The movement in space and time has been so vast that the current technical, structural, materials or skills were not aligned to such a resurrection any more.

> (C)ertain historians refer to the description of the original building given by one Abd Allag Ibn-I-Yazid who saw it (Mohammad's house at Madina)after 622 AD) first before it was partially demolished (to be reconstructed of course) by the order of Caliph Al Walid in AD 707. According to this description the original walls were of mud bricks with different rooms partitioned off by palm branches plastered with mud. The door openings had curtains of black haircloth and one could touch the ceiling with one's hand.
>
> Yes this is the description of the building where not only our Prophet but His noble assistants spent most of their lives.[106]

This final statement along with earlier arguments could then be followed up by another question. Bearing in mind such difficulties, what does it mean when one proclaims a desire to return to the pure?

Posing such an impossibility of moving back in time, Burney tries to take Fatima's myth away from her. He opens it, unfolds it, rethinks it, refolds it and returns it back to her but only after emptying out from it what of it had haunted him—the notion of a possible return to the pure. Immaculate origin is taken away not only from Islamic architecture but architecture in general, where the trace of the other is constructed in such a way as to never present itself so that it can be isolated and separated. Instead, it constantly recedes in the background. What is returned to Fatima Jinnah is the realization that if pure is nothing more than a misguiding mirage, the attention to what I call the debt of the other, does not relegate one's self into passivity. In short, if pure Islamic is a feign concept, it does not imply that there is no Islamic architecture either. The Muslims did bear their influence and incorporated creatively the inheritance of the other, who has given without requisitioning a return. Moreover, there is no one to return back to. The other has receded back into the background, making space for new acquirers to claim fully. It has taken centuries of working, thinking and restructuring to make this heritage belong fully.

> In view of all that has been said above one can easily conclude that the Muslims did not have a style of architecture of their own and whatever buildings they

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[105] Letter from Irshad Burney to Fatima Jinnah, 27 October 1959, National Archives, Islamabad, *Fatima Jinnah Papers, Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum*, Serial no. 518/ 1949-65/85, pp. 29-33.
[106] Ibid, p. 31.

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> erected were influenced by the non-Muslim styles of one kind or another. But it will be untrue to say that Muslims had no part to play in the development of what we *now* call Islamic Architecture; because the incredible styles of calligraphy, the intricate patterns of Arabesques, and charming forms of Stalactite, which are so frequently used in Islamic buildings, are the features for which Muslims and Muslims alone were responsible. With the help of these decorative features Muslims were able to *disguise* almost any style of architecture, and they did so to such an extent and in such a beautiful way that the formation of an apparently new style became inevitable and it is this style that we now call Saracenic or Islamic Style of Architecture. [107]

A question to ask is why would Burney indulge in this painstaking monologue, provoking and demanding the addressee, into response? It is clear that it is not a preamble for the reconsideration of his design proposal. It is already late for that, for the commission has already been granted to Yahya Merchant. The clue is given by the author himself.

> The world is changing so rapidly (even from the architectural point of view) that if we did not change accordingly, in no time we will be left behind in the darkness of decadence, and it will be great pity, if *the decadence from which we were saved* by our great leader Quaid-e-Azam *is imposed on us through his Mausoleum.* [108]

The rhetoric of idealism is still alive. The mausoleum of Jinnah could be an important monument that would set up standards and shape future orientations. And this would not be specific to the field of architecture but will act as a didactic instrument that can teach civil lessons and bind societies together. What sustained the attempts of the possibilitarians before the manifest monument took hold in the imagination of its audience, is the belief in the unity between representation and morality, in the public's intrinsic readiness to heed the lessons of the senses and in the efficacy of art or space as a pedagogy.

Burney makes yet another point. By spending all of one's energies in searching for something in the past that does not exist (the notion of the pure Islamic architecture) and burying deep what one finds there (the imprint of the non-Islamic), is nothing less than negating one's responsibility to the present and future. This would be the responsibility to hopes of the public, the promise of the monument that they want to claim but Fatima or the state she partially masks and that partly supports her, do not have the means and devices to hand over the monument to the people. Nor does the monument lend itself to such a radical transformation.

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[107] Ibid, pp. 31, 32.
[108] Ibid, p. 32.

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In the end, we have Jinnah's mausoleum as just another state sponsored monument that lingers as a dead spot in the national imagination, avoided and ignored even by the few who visit it in a state of distraction. For them it is just brilliant roses and cold stone, the crowd outside and the crypt with. The hard-edged emptiness of the mausoleum, a drab, cavernous monument that testifies to the fact that history passed by it before it became manifest. It failed to be anything than the temple of the void.

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CONCLUSION

Mohammad Ali Jinnah's death sparked the question of a possible mausoleum. His absence occasioned the possibility of a new presence; that of the tomb. His death provoked the writings of common citizens to his sister about it. As we have seen, the tomb always remains an attempt to keep the dead alive. These letters that blur the private-public distinction, speaking in a singular voice with a singular signature to a single recipient, were sent with a tacit expectation of propagation, whereby the addressee entrusted with the communication of these visions to a larger audience. They opened up some fundamental questions. What *is* it that is spoken in these letters? What is it that is being spoken through their silence? What is the nature of addressing a living legend like Fatima Jinnah? What is the nature of its populism? What are the paradoxes of modernization? What is the role of architectural projection in formulating new type of public space—new both prgrammatically and relationally? By focusing on architectural content, one learns about the meaning of architecture, significance of a monument, in particular, Jinnah's mausoleum to some of those wrote about it.

The discussion of multiple perceptions of Jinnah's mausoleum has allowed us to read through the narratives of its authors. The text and letterheads, the style and tone, the salutation, the fluency or stiltedness of language, the signature of these writings provide a number of clues about their correspondents. They are signed, sealed, in some cases typewritten on business letterheads, often conveying the social status of the writer, yet they do not disperse the anonymity of writers as historical actors. To a reader, therefore, each writer comes forth not only in his individual capacity but also as a representative of a larger grouping, the "collective man" whom Gramsci views as the actor in history.

The writers also use many different "legitimizing" devices; mechanisms to show that they have the right to speak. Some simply show connections between the writer and the process of design and construction: he could be an architect or a building contractor, or a resident of a locality near the burial site. Others emphasize the imaginary community of the nation, for example by invoking their patriotism, love for Jinnah, sacrifices, or poverty. Some claim to have had a revelation about the design in their dreams.

Moving from form to content, the letters in their engagement with the idea of the monument express a form of idealism from below, an alternative envisioning of the society and its possibilities. On the surface, they deal with the programmatic and design features of the tomb, but at another level, as we have seen, they reveal and try to choreograph onto space the underlying image of the nation. They illustrate the writers' symbolic relations with Jinnah, and

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through them, the latter's relationship with the larger collectivity of the nations as seen by the writers.

The programmatic proposals demand the inclusion of cultural, educational, congregational and even commercial facilities. An interesting and conspicuous exception is the absence of any reference to a political function. This is significant, given the nature of Jinnah's persona and place in history.

The proposals concerned with procedural issues are less interested in what gets built, and more with how it gets built. They restrict themselves to questions like who gets to have a say; how to accommodate different points of view and proceed democratically without delaying action indefinitely.

The primary challenge faced by the writers who make design proposals was to justify the validity of the historic or contemporary models they emulated. All types of proposals, however, are motivated by rationales. These include salvation of the departed soul and representation both inwards and to the external world, i.e., making it a showcase for Pakistan to outsiders, and enabling the inclusion of all classes and segments of the society. Educational and reformist objectives, national integration, promotion of the monument, making sure continued visitation of large numbers of people; linking the state and the people, and the past, present, and the future in addition to conserving and promoting skills and crafts are also forwarded as plausible logic.

As we have seen, these utopias even in their variety can be categorized under certain themes. Narratives of *inclusion* surfaces most prominently among these. Just as Qayyum, Shah and Esmailjee ask not to be excluded from the new polity, Ghafoor asks to be included in the new economy. He asks for the state's patronage of the skill that he represents. Another theme is the significance of *representation* and the proper place of symbols to reconcile the demands of progress, on the one hand and search for legitimate roots, on the other. Many like Qayyum, Abdul Khair and Meer Nooruddin Hussain envision a public space where *criticism* and education will form an integral part of each other. Ahadullah Siddique and Bakhsh hope for a monument that could facilitate *communication* between the citizens, with the state and the international community. Akhtar, Ainuddin's, Burney and Gulzar Khan use the opportunity to design Jinnah's mausoleum to communicate the *characteristics* the national collectivity must possess. Engagements with the architectural historical inheritance, valuing Jinnah debt by acting responsibly and dutifully are some of these characteristics.

The form as well as the content of these letters gives an insight into the nature of idealism from below. The legitimizing devices like modes of addressing, use of language (English or Urdu) betray the distance of the authors from their text. To be taken seriously, the

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authors wrap their visions in the words and ideas of their addressee. In addressing the idealism of *above*, their own proposals partakes of the qualities of the bourgeois *other* engaged in a dialogue and in the process making it their own. Gravitation towards the center is perhaps the most permanent mark of these aspirations. This does not mean that by attending to the signals given by protocols of writing to Fatima Jinnah, the idealisms were destroyed by that act. In fact, the keeping of the protocols makes it all the more idealism from below that can only be extracted through particular modes of reading. The historian can access them only as a trace of a phenomenon that speaks mainly through its silence and the evasiveness of that silence.

The idealism from below as they appear in the material under investigation derive their *interventionary force* from their ability to be transformed by the act of writing, writing to the living iconic figure of Fatima Jinnah and writing about architecture. As such by the act of writing what is mobile, in flux, without a specific position becomes momentarily fixed. It emulates but does not become a part of the imposed 'proper space'[109] from above—the space that will take form as the final Jinnah's mausoleum. In short this is 'idealism without qualities' in the sense of Musil—idealism that focuses on possibilities rather than reality. It capitalizes on a sense of possibility belonging to a person who 'pulls a line through the water without any notion whether there is bait on it or not.'[110]

If the idealism has diminished in every other domain of the social and political spheres, it is as if what remains is mostly accumulated at the site of his burial, making it the new typography of his concentrated memory. The spot light on his mazar for which donations are made by the rich and poor alike, is accompanied by a profusion of historical writing and a full scale undertaking of giving name; buildings, streets, institutions, awards, cities after the great leader. Jinnah is imagined into a new figure. It is a creative process of making him into someone and something, the state and nation feels they need. The new leader is shaped not only by the state historians, but as these letters signify and other forms of cultural production suggests, the nation is implicit in it as well. This is however, not to suggest that the two processes had any equivalence. They use different means for different ends.

It is important to remember that this expression, even this very thesis, only became possible because of a unique juxtaposition of political and architectural possibilities. Firstly, without the presence of Fatima Jinnah to incarnate, facilitate, and attract the expressions of

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[109] Michel de Certeau: *The Practice of Everyday Practice*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
[110] Robert Musil: *Man Without Qualities*. New York: Perigee Books, 1980.

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idealism, the letters would never have been written. By asking for the letters, she became not just another member of the elite society but opened up a space of relationship with the citizens. Rather, she seemed to many of her correspondents to be the surviving incarnation of the ideals of the independence movement. While she did not hold a formal status in government, she nevertheless, with Jinnah's death, she became the spiritual heiress to his idealistic legacy in tacit opposition to his political legacy that is inherited by the formal structures of the state and the ruling political party, the Pakistan Muslim League. Secondly, without the mausoleum as the subject for the letter writing, the idealism from below would have never been expressed. Architecture and spatial ideas are the primary vehicles for putting forward of that vision.

I have tried to find the voices within these voices to write a history of architecture as afforded by a single folder in one archive. Admittedly, this work is not complete. Modest in number, the letters, nonetheless, clears the way for an extensive research agenda. Foremost amongst these is the puzzle that all of these letters were written by men. Where are the women's voices? How does one work through the puzzle of their conspicuous absence? But this is a story for another time.

My starting point is the same as my conclusion, namely that much of the work we do focuses on what survives, what is successful, what is actually built. The strands that do not survive in this form are subjected to what E. P. Thompson has justly criticized as "the enormous condescension of history". I hope to have demonstrated that these strands are just as important as those that did survive. They reveal aspects of the monument and its nature that the built monument does not lend itself too.

If built monuments clean things up and get rid of chaos, these possibilitarian monuments that clothe themselves in the state apparatus, in their ephemerality accommodate chaos and change. Akin to wear and tear, these personal monuments are distinct from what the manifest monument does.

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APPENDEX

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24

Pakistan Times, the 14th July, 1949.

Quaid-i-Azam's Memorial.

—o—

Inquiries to be directed to Central Government Committee.

Karachi, July 12: In a communication to the Press Miss Fatima Jinnah draws the attention of the public that all enquiries regarding the late Quaid-i-Azam's memorial should be directed to the Central Government Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam Memorial Fund. She states that under some misconception a number of people had been making enquiries from her in this behalf, which matter is in the hands of the Government.

Miss Jinnah has also received a few designs from artists and architectural designers for the Quaid's mausoleum.

Among them one, called "Puk-Mahal" is from a well-known architectural designer, Gulzar Khan. She has invited designers to send copies of designs to her, so that a selection may be made for the late Quaid-i-Azam's mausoleum. APP.

—o—

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786

Telegrams: "AMANAT"
PHONE 3882

Haji Abdul Rahim Abdul Qayum

GENERAL MERCHANTS
AND
COMMISSION AGENTS

TEA, DRY FRUIT AND KARIANA

HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY

Daryalal Street, Jodia Bazar.

Karachi-2, 25 — 8 — 1949

خدمت شریف جناب فاطمہ صاحبہ سلمہ

السلام وعلیکم ورحمت اللہ

خط لکھنے کی جرأت کرنے کی معافی چاہتا ہوں کچھ عرصہ سے درخواست کرتا رہا

مگر اب یہ درخواست نہ کروں گا

ہمارے محبوب قائد اعظم کا مزار کے مکمل سامنے ہونے کی وجہ سے کچھ عرصہ

سے احساس ہو رہا تھا کہ مہمان تعمیر مدرسہ یا مسجد کیوں شروع نہیں ہوا ہی

اگر مکمل معمولی رفتار سے کام جاری رہے تو کچھ نہ کچھ کام ختم ہو سکے

اور مدرسہ تو بہت ضروری ہے تاکہ آئندہ نسل سنور سکے میں جانتا ہوں

غریب مسلمان ہونے کے وجہ سے [illegible]

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25-8-1949

In the auspicious attendance of *Janab* Fatima Jinnah Sahib.

Asalam-u-Alakum, (May God's blessings and peace be upon you)

'Please pardon me for daring to write (the letter). (I) tried to endure for sometime, but now could not bear any longer.

As a result of living right across from the *mazaar* (tomb) of our beloved Quaid-e-Azam, I have been wondering for a while, why should a *madrasa* (religious or regular school) or a mosque not be constructed here. Even if (the construction) proceeds at an ordinary rate, at least some of the work can get done. And the *madrasa* is particularly important, so that the generations to come can be mentored.

In spite of being a poor Muslim, I am willing to sacrifice as much time as needed. May God bless his soul and enable the Pakistanis in general and resourceful Pakistanis in particular to follow his footsteps.

Abdul Qayyum.

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III

ISLAM ZINDABAD

-78-

PAKISTAN PAYENDABAD.

2

From:- Pir Syed Asmat Ali Shah,
Chief Dictator Jumud Mubbi Poor Muslim League of World,
Fateha Khwani Darbar of Pir Syed Asmat ali Shah for
late beloved Quaid-e-Azam & other Muslims of the world.

To

Miss. Fatima Jinnah,
KARACHI.

Subject:- QUAID-E-AZAM MAZAR.

Most Respected Mother,

In the name of AlmightyAllah I am do begin,. I am placing before you true facts for your kind consideration and I hope xxx if you have love for your brother, late beloved Quaid-e-Azam, Father of the Nation, and Pakistan and for the Islam , you will do best for it.

1. In 17th November 1948 I dreamt Quaid-E-Azam with my father late Pir Syed Yaqoob Ali Shah and my grand father Pir Syed Zulfali Shah. I saw xxx in dream, Quaid-E-Azam, saying to my father, and grand father to instruct me to make a " Fatiha Khwani Darbar" for the peace of my soul and for Pakistan and for the glory of Islam. At about 3 p.m. I woke up and read out Durud Taj and I started that in the jail from the next day.

2. I am a man who has lost everything for Pakistan. I don't know why I was put in jail. I can shed my blood for the Muslims & State and I have full confidence in the leadership of H.E. Khwaja Nazimuddin and Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan and Hon'ble Khwaja Shahabuddin. I like to stay over here in the Quaid-EAzam Grave yard and wish to render my humble spritual teachings for the peace of the Quaid-E-Azam and for the Pakistan. I am at all willing to go to East Pakistan.

3. The police and some official of the Government have misappropriated their power to harass me. But I can assure you that I had never done like so any kind of activities, against Muslims and Islam and Pakistan. I can take oath on Holy Quran that I will not do any thing against Government and the existing supreme of the Government. The Quran is whole sole for Muslims.

P.T.O.

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I take oath on that and hope that you will manage my staying at Karachi at Quaid-E-Azam's Mazar as their "Khadim"

4. " Anti PAKISTANI PARTY IN THE JAIL"

There was a party in the jail consisting of many persons lead by Rafique Ahmad Senior Jailer, Safarullah Khan Deputy Jailor, and Atar Saeed Safety Jailer and Asir Mohd Jemadar , Abdulla Jemadar, Osman Jemadar and Subu Asraf Communist Prisoner who used to abuse the Quaid-E-Azam and H.E. Alhaj Nazimuddin and the Cabinet Minister and Pakistan in filthy language. I bewmantly protest against these and also observed Jehade Nafs (Hunger Strike) for about three months and 17 days. Doctor Sayed Mahmud Hassan Medical Officer knows about that. I was disgraced by the Rafique Ahmed. Amiruddin who is still in Jehade Nafs (Hunger strike) for about 4 months for Quaid-E-Azam and Jumma Namaz and other matters in the jail. I was Jehad-e-Nafs for about 3 months & 17 days for the sake of Pakistan and Quaid-E-Azam and other against the Anti-propaganda in the jail by enemies of Pakistan. I am all along strong supporter of Pakistan. Government must dismiss the above mentioned persons. You very kindly visit the jail with Hon'ble Khwaja Shahabuddin & Hon'ble Prime Minister Liaquatali Khan to break Amiruddin's Hunger St[rike]

Islam Zindabad, Pakistan Paindabad, Quaid-E-Azam Zindabad.

INSHA-ALLAH KASHMIR LINAS RAHEGA

Yours faithfully,

Syed Amat Ali Shah

(Pir Syed Amat Ali Shah)

Karachi, Dated 10th Jan., 1951.

I shall sacrifice my life with followers for your self ownership.

Amat Ali Shah

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IV

4

M. Noorbhoy S. Esmailjee,

— HYDERABADWALLA —

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTOR & SUPPLIER,

Design Proposal
Accompanying plan is missing

IMPORTANT
IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE
No.

"KHATIJA MANZIL"
Opp BOHRA JAMATKHANA.
FRERE ROAD,
Karachi (City), 19
(Pakistan.) July 25, 1951.

Mohtarama Saheba,

Aslaam-o-Alaikoom. I take pleasure in introducing myself as a retired but experienced Govt., Railway and Building contractor. I have always been a supporter and an admirer of your late brother, the Quaid-e-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah, who alone single handed against the whole Hindu Nation and many Muslim opponents, was responsible for bringing about this Great Muslim State of Pakistan into being.

Unfortunately, as the ill-luck would have it, the Muslims of this State, nay the entire World, were deprived of his knowledge and leadership in the political field by the Almight at a very critical time in the history of Pakistan. Since the death of this Great Man, and being his admirer, I am frequently visiting his Mazar. May his soul rest in Heaven and may Allah give you strength to bear this irrepairable loss, Aamin.

Being an experienced Building Contractor, I have drawn up a sketch which is enclosed herewith, for your perusal and for whatever action which you may think fit. I have also consulted PWD Engineers near the Mazar on several occasions. It is my suggestion that the entire plot around the Mazar shown in the sketch should be levelled and kept in reserve for Idd prayers and also as an evening strolling site. On the four corners of the plot should be erected big pedestal lights (Green in colour). Further explanation on the plan will be gladly furnished personally, if desired.

I shall feel highly honoured to receive an acknowledgement of this letter and the sketch at your earliest opportunity. Thanking you very much.

I have the honour to be
Yours faithfully

(M.NOORBHAY S.ESMAILJI)

Enclo. 1 Sketch.

Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah Saheba,
Opposite Palace Cinema,
KARACHI CANTONMENT.

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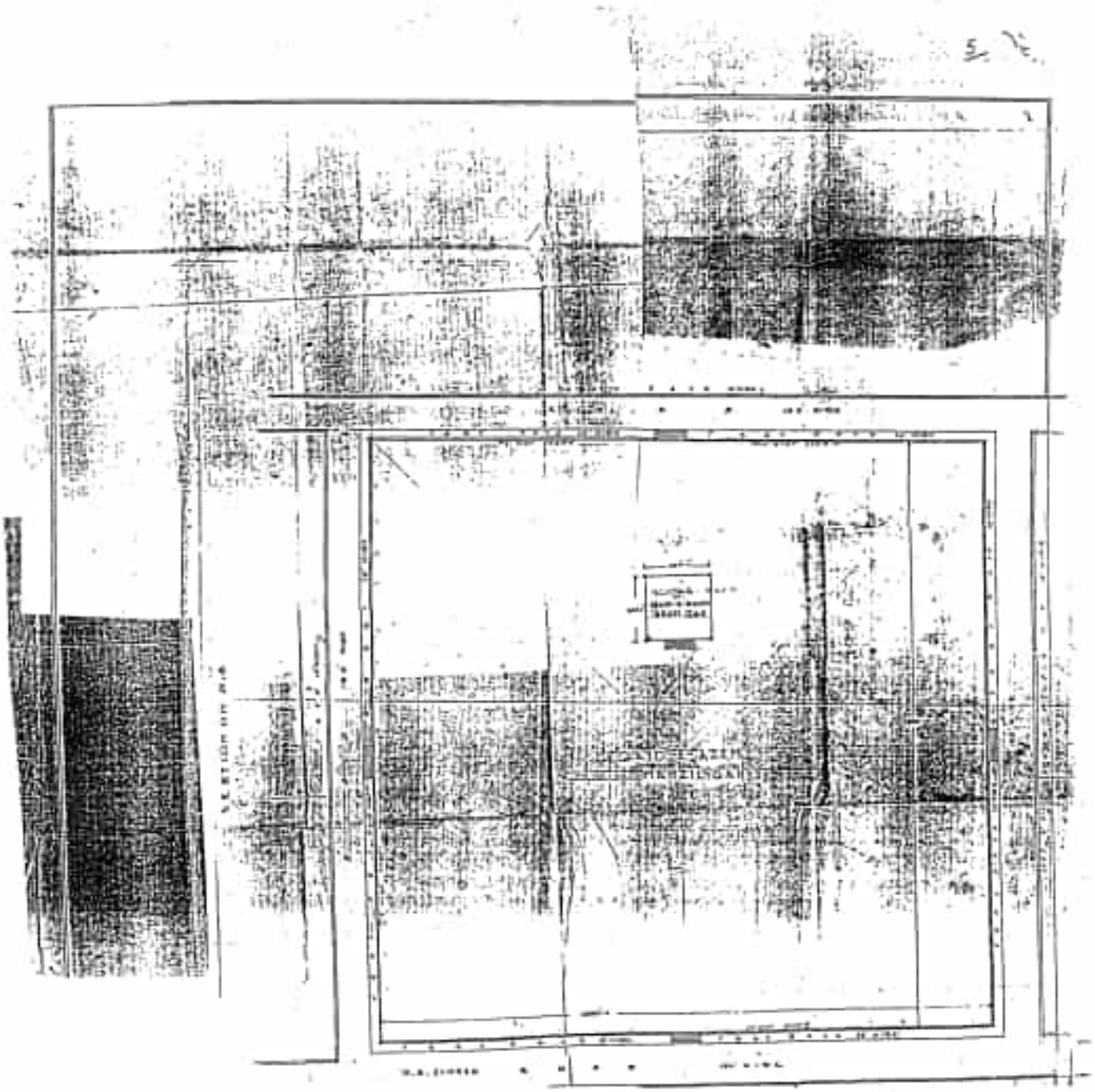
IV



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V

167/4 Martin Road,
Karachi 5; the 18th January, 1952.

Dearest Muhtarma,

Taslim. We are very much pained rather ashamed to see the Quaid-i-Azam Sinnah Gate at the I. I. E. C. site, which will be occupied by the Quaid-i-Azam's memorials. The Gate should either be demolished or maintained in a manner befitting our beloved leader. What would the foreigners, who pass this way, think.

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V

10/ May I therefore beseach you Madam kindly to give due consideration to our wishes.

With sincere regards,

your humble servant.

Shehzad Akhtar

Class II-B, St. Joseph Convent

High School, Karachi

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from https://fruit-chat.com !

Offices:—
Peshawar, Karachi } Pakistan
Kabul (Afghanistan)

ABDULLATIF SETHI.
B. A. (Hons.), B. O. L.

General Merchant & Commission Agent,
IMPORTER—EXPORTER
2-Fadoo Building—Bunder Road,
KARACHI-2.

Phone: 2511
Tele: LATIFSETHI, Fadoo Building

VI

18th March 1952.

To
The Editor,
Daily English Dawn,
K a r a c h i.

Tea

Wool

Bones

Bokhara Carpets and Rugs

Dried Fruits

Fur and Skins

Herb and Seeds

Cotton, Rayon and Silk Piecegoods and Yarn

Dear Sir,

I take this opportunity to suggest that instead of keeping the relics of the late Qaid-e-Azam in the house where he was born, they should be kept in a chanber constructed somewhere near his grave which will be oftener resorted by the visitors from within Pakistan and foreign countries. The house where he was born should be purchased by the Pakistan Government and a Madrassah should be opened there to teach the Holy Quran to the children. A class sould also be opened in the Madrassah to teach the boys Holy Quran by heart thus producing "Hufaz". In this way hundred of boys will recite the Holy Quran every day at the place where Qaid-e-Azam was born. This will be a great blessing for his soul. This Madrassah should be named after him and will be a very suitable memorial.

Yours faithfully,

(ABDULLATIF SETHI)

Copy to:-

The Mother of the Nation, Miss Fatimah Jinnah, Karachi.

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Dated:- 18th, October '1954

VII

The Madara- Millat,
Karachi.

Respected Madam,

It has come to my light and knowledge, through the News Papers of our country, that the sketch of memorials, which are going to be constructed around the Grave of Quaid-e-Azam are being accepted and the construction work will be started after a short while. Madam, a few schemes which the Government possess, objections are being raised after they have been finally shaped, and some of the objections being raised by the mass are supposed correct to a great extent, but the steps are taken in such a way that they can't be altered, so the grievences go on taking place between the mass and the government.

Moreover, it will be much appreciated if the out lines of the sketch is published with the full details, and the public may be given al least two or three weeks to ponder over the scheme, any alterable matters founded by the public may be considered. Such memorials carry much importance and can never be constructed every now and then, and after the foundation has taken place and the materials received, it is very difficult to have any alteration in it.

Yours Etc,

HAJI ABDUL QAYUM KHAN

Qayum Manzil,
D-1 Serojini Naidu Road.,
Opp: Quaid-e-Azam Grave,
K a r a c h i

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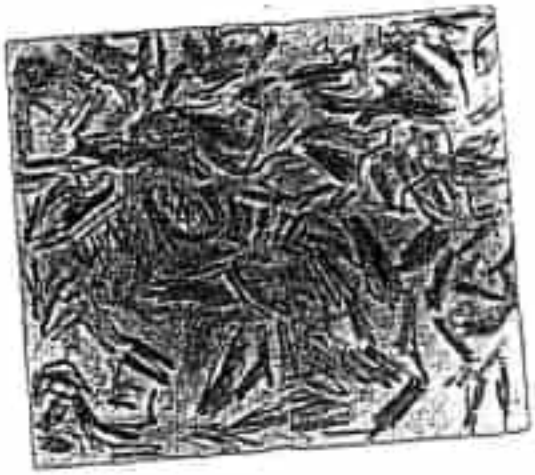

16

کراچی

محترمہ محترمہ جناب فاطمہ جناح صاحبہ

۷ جنوری ۵۷ء

السلام علیکم گزارش خدمت عالی ہے کہ بسلسلہ

مسلمہ لیگ و مقبرہ مزار شریف محترم جناب قائداعظم مسٹر محمد علی

جناح صاحب مرحوم و مغفور تالپور نے ایک نمونہ رنگ کا

جیسا اللہ تعالیٰ نے حضرت محمد صلعم کے مقبرے کے اندر اپنے ہاتھ کو دکھایا تھا بنا

کر بغرض ملاحظہ روانہ خدمت کرتا ہوں۔ یہ سیمنٹ کا بنا ہے اور

وہ رنگ جسکا اشارہ ملتا ہے تو جس عکس میں کالا رنگ بنتا تھا اور دیکھ

میں بھورا کالا تھا شاندار پس رنگ تھا۔ لہذا اسکو ملاحظہ فرما کر کدھر بھی

ملک میں اس قسم کا سیمنٹ ملتا ہے انکا پتہ بذریعہ حکومت کے منگوائیں۔

اور تالپور کو حکم صادر فرمائیں کہ میں نے نقشہ تیار کرلیا ہوں تو نقشہ

بھیجوں یا آپکا تشریف لانا خدمت مبارک میں ہوگا۔ اور والسلام اللہ

کے اور حضرت کے مکمل میں مرے کی جواب دینا ضروری ہے۔ تالپور

آپکے حکم اور انتظار جواب کا کررہا ہوں۔

زیادہ ادب اور سلام

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15/

حضور والا دنیا کے انجینئر ایکٹرک ہے اور میرا انجینئر وہ ہے جو
دنیا جہان اور عرش بریں کا حاکم ہے۔ آج میرا دنکیف ختم ہوگیا
اور اس دنکیف کے بعد آج ۷ تاریخ کو مجھکو اس نقشے کو نمونہ لگا کر ادیا

واسطے اللہ کے جواب ضرور دینا

خدا آپکو جزاء خیر عطا فرمائیگا آپ میری طرف دیکھنا
اور میں حضرت ام کی طفیل سے اللہ کی طرف دیکھتا ہوں۔
اللہ تعالیٰ اسلام کی عزت رکھے اور پاکستان کو محفوظ رکھے
یہ نقشہ عرش اعظم کا نمونہ ہوگا کیونکہ اس میں اللہ کی مدد
شامل ہے

جواب واسطے اللہ حضرت ام کے طفیل میں ضرور دیجیگا

فقط خادم رحیم بخش قائد اعظم کا شاگرد کنگال
بیت بے مکہ کا شاہنشاہ قائد اعظم کے نقش قدم پر چلنے والا
برابہ نمبر ۲ کراچی۔ برنس گارڈن۔ رینی چندر روڈ۔ مشتاق منزل
دوسرا مالا روم نمبر ۹۔ اکبل مال کے بازو میں پوسٹ آفس
طشب وجاب کو مکرر رحیم بخش کو ملے

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2/18

Karachi,
7th January 1957,

For the attendance of Madam *Janab* Fatima Jinnah Sahib Bhadur,
May your good fortune continue

Assalam-u-Alikum,

Allow me to bring to the attendance of the most eminent, that this letter is in connection with the previous correspondence about the plans and designs of the tomb of the respected *Janab* Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah Sahib Bahadur, the blessed deceased.

This obedient (writer) has attached a colored sketch that has been revealed by God through his prophet to me. It was envisioned during the night of Thursday or Friday. The (attached) presentation has been prepared for your deliberation.

This is a pencil sketch. The color signaled (in the dream) varies. The first image did not have any black color, whereas the second had a hint of it. This (color in the final image) was the best. Therefore, take a look at this (proposal) and get the government to research where such a stone can be found (the term used in the letter is country). Issue an order to the obedient so I continue working on the design and can present you with a drawing or photograph. And for God's sake, make sure to respond to me, (remembering that) the prophet (*may peace be upon him*) mediates between us.

Yours obediently,
Waiting for your orders and response,

Much respect and blessings

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from https://fruit-chat.com !

Dear (Madam),

All the worldly engineers together cannot compare to the spiritual guidance of my engineer, for he is the ruler of the world and skies above. My meditation concluded today. and it was today that he channeled the design through me.

For the sake of God, do respond. May God bless you and shower his blessings on you. You turn to me and I will turn to God through the prophet.

May God maintain the honor of Islam and keep Pakistan under his protection.

This design will decent from the highest skies and will be the most grandiose, for it will evolve with the help of God.

Please, it is absolutely important that you answer my letter. Please, for the sake of God, with the help of *Hazrat* Mohammed (may peace be upon him) do answer my letter.

Only,
Khadim Rahim Bakhsh,
A popper student of Quaid-e-Azam,
A king without resources,
One who follows the footsteps of Quaid-e- Azam.

Karachi, Prince Gardens,
Rati Chandar Road,
Mushtaq Manzil, 2nd residential quarters,
Room no. 9, Post Box # 1, near Assembly Hall,
c/o Tayab Sahib,
Rahim Bakhsh.

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IX

16

R. No. E2
Niger Hotel
Karachi No 1.
16th February 1958

Madame,

The fourth of fifth day after Mr Liaqat Ali's death the wall erected by the then Chief Commissioner of Karachi at your instance in order to separate the final grave of Mr Liaqat Ali from the precincts of the enclosure of the grave of your late revered brother, was broken down by some men and some women. The instigators all happened to be prominent Muslim Leaguers. One the Treasurer of the All Pakistan Muslim League, the other an ambassador back home in Dacca, appointed by the Muslim League Ministry, and the women all members and representatives of the Muslim League on Public bodies. The Muslim League Ministry allowed the wall to remain levelled giving the grave of Mr Liaqat Ali with the enclosure as it today is. Some Muslim Leaguers had then told you indirectly that you had no say in the matter of burials. How came you to think then that you had any right to interfere, and how did they acquiesce with their request to exercise that right? In principle yes, we expect that your claim that "Dawn" belongs to the nation still stands; but for all practical purposes

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IX

17

it is the property of M/s Pakistan Herald Ltd, and Hasan Ispahani the Managing Directors. Certain cases were filed and some notices were issued by you. What happened then about the Paper eventually, does the nation know? You in a previous statement of yours rightly asked "Who is to give back "Dawn" to the people?" Could you ask yourself: Who are they to run the newspaper "Dawn" for their own profit?"
According to best stand of yours the Hasans are useless for quarters of the National property, but they are still in the Muslim League affairs, and even sit in council to decide the policy of the Muslim League. Of late one sees you in fair use sitting with daughter of that family on the occasion of wedding and other such ceremonies.

May Allah help the nation that has been entrusted to such people to rule over and such as you to preach principles.

Yours sincerely,
Khan Nooruddin Sarwari.
(KHAN NOORUDDEEN KHAN)

Miss Fatima Jinnah,
Flag Staff House,
Karachi.

P.S. I am sending a copy of this to Mr J.J. Chundrigar.

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X

۱۷۸

خدمت عالی جناب صاحبزادہ حضرت محمد جناح دام اقبالہ
کراچی

جناب عالیہ

گذارش ہے کہ انٹرنیشنل آرکیٹکٹ یونین نے ہدایت بھیجی ہیں کہ جیسولیم کا ڈزائن
ایسا ہونا چاہیے جو مختلف ممالک کے ہر دور عام سلانوں کی دلچسپی کے مطابق ہو۔
تین نقشوں کے انتخاب میں اس ہدایت کو مدنظر نہیں رکھا گیا اور جو نقشہ منظور کیا گیا ہے
[illegible] کسی شکل میں بھی منظور کی اور مسلمانوں کی دلچسپی کا باعث نہیں ہو سکتا
علاوہ ازیں ہمارے محبوب ترین تاج عالم کا مقبرہ آگرہ کھلونا نہیں ہونا چاہیے بلکہ
ایک ایسی شاندار عمارت ہونی چاہیے جو بادشاہوں کے شایان شان ہو۔
دوسرے یہ کہ ہماری حکومت کا کہنا ہے کہ ہم پاکستان کو صنعت حرفت میں ایک اچھا معیار پر
پہنچانا چاہتے ہیں لیکن اس انتخاب سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ صرف زبانی مشغلہ ہے عملی
پالیسی نادم ابھی اسکے لیئے خالی نہیں۔
اگر پاکستان کے نام لیوا والوں کی ہمت افزائی کیجاتی تو پاکستان کتنا خوش نصیب اور
دنیا میں نمایاں نظر آتا۔
بندہ خان بہادر محمد سلیمان چیف انجینیر اور مسٹر جے ایف چارلٹن اور دیگر ماہرین فن
پاکستان میں موجود ہوں تو کوئی وجہ نہیں معلوم ہوتی کہ غیر ملکوں سے ماہر فن
اپنے ایسے معاملات دے جاویں۔
امید ہے کہ اس انتخاب پر پھر نظر ثانی فرمائی جاویگی۔

ادریس الحسن آرکیٹکٹ
اجزاء مشہ مرشد راولپنڈی
۲۴/۱۱/۴۷

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For the attention of the great Madam, mother of the nation, Fatima Jinnah, may God sustain your high destiny,

The most respected Madm,

Beg to state that the guidelines of the International Union of Architects demanded that the design of the mausoleum should be based on Mughal type and according to the interest of common Muslims. But this criteria was not kept in mind while selecting the winners. The design that has been accepted is not worthy of such an award on any basis. It is not something that will interest the Muslims. Moreover, the mausoleum of our most beloved Quaid-e-Azam should not be a toy. It should be a glorious structure, something of the stature of kings.

Second, our government is always announcing that we want to take Pakistan onto the high road of industrialization and trade, but these seem to be merely verbal claims. The practical platform has no real room for it yet.

How lucky and prominent would Pakistan have appeared if Pakistani practitioners had been encouraged. When we have art experts like Khan Bahadur Mohammad Salman chief engineer and Mister Abdul Rauf chartered and others of the same caliber within Pakistan, there seems to be no apparent reason for handing over such projects to foreigners.

It is hoped that this selection will be revisited.

Architect Abdul Ahsan,
Superintendent Trust, Rawalpindi,
25/2/58.

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XI

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بلند مرتبت گرامی مادرِ ملت حضرت فاطمہ جناح صاحبہ دام اقبالہا۔

السلام علیکم۔

عرض ہے۔ احقر نے شب ۲۲ رمضان المبارک کو خواب میں قائدِ اعظمؒ کا مقبرہ دیکھا ہے۔ خواب کی تفصیل پشت پر درج ہے۔ اور خوابی مقبرہ کی تصویر کا فوٹو گراف اسکے ہمراہ روانہ خدمت ہے۔

عرض ہے کہ خواب ایک الہامی کیفیت ہوا کرتا ہے۔ الہامی طور پر مقبرہ قائدِ اعظمؒ کا کے دیدار کا شرف اس ناچیز غریب الوطن کو ہوا۔ جسکو بلا رد و قدح جناب کی خدمت گرامی میں پیش کرنیکا شرف حاصل کر رہا ہوں

التماس کرتا ہوں کہ اس الہامی مقبرہ قائدِ اعظمؒ کی اخبارات و دیگر ذرائع سے تشہیر فرما کر عوام کو بھی اپنے محبوب قائدِ اعظم کے مقبرہ الہامی و خوابی سے روشناس فرمائیں۔

احقر

محمد اللہ اللہ صدیقی آرکیٹیکٹ

(167)

فلیٹ ۱۲۷ قطب حیدر آباد کالونی کراچی۔ نزد شاہین سینما

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2/18

Attention to the most respected, mother of the nation, Hazrat Fatima Jinnah sahib,
May you be always respected,

Assalam-u-Alikum,

Madam, On the night of 26th *Ramadan-ul-Mubarik*, the most contemptible, the most unworthy has witnessed in a dream, the tomb of Quaid-e-Azam (the great leader*), (may God bless his soul).* The details of the tomb are noted on the other side. Attached is a drawing of this visionary tomb. Bear in mind that a dream is state of premonition. It is a privilege that this revelation came upon the unworthy poor citizen. It is my fortune to present it for your deliberation without any changes or withholding any information. I hope that the vision of your brother Quaid-e-Azam's revealed tomb, (*may God bless his soul),* will be shared with the nation through newspapers and other mediums of, so they also can be enlightened with regard to this.

The most contemptible, the most unworthy,

Mohammed *(may peace be upon him)* Ahadullah Siddique, artist
adjoining but behind 127 Hyderabad colony, Karachi, near Shaheen cinema

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XI

۱۹

خواب محمد اللہ صدیقی آرٹسٹ۔ مرقومہ شب ۲۹ رمضان المبارک ۱۳۷۷ھ المطابق ۱۶ اپریل ۱۹۵۸ء

سحری کے بعد آخری آنکھ لگی۔ تقریباً ایک فرلانگ کے فاصلے سے میں قائداعظمؒ کے مقبرہ کو دیکھ رہا ہوں۔ آنے جانے والے لوگ گزر رہے ہیں۔ گزرنے والوں میں سے ایک نے کہا "یہی تو ہے قائداعظمؒ کا مقبرہ"۔

اور مقبرہ کی جانب روانہ ہوا۔ مقبرہ کی عمارت بہت عریض اور بلند ہے۔ اور سیڑھیاں چڑھ کر سنگ مرمر کا چبوترا طے کرتا ہوا بڑی کمان میں داخل ہوا۔ دروازے میں سے ہوتا ہوا اندر چلا گیا۔ اندر کا حصہ بہت کشادہ ہے۔ چاروں رخ بڑی بڑی کمانیں اور ایک ایک دروازہ ہے۔ چاروں کونوں پر چار بلند اور خوبصورت مینار ہیں۔ اندر چھت بہت اونچی ہے درمیان میں گنبد ہے۔ عمارت کے ایک کونے میں نماز ادا کرنے کی جگہ بنی ہے۔ وہیں ایک کونے میں چھوٹا سا حوض ہے اور پانی کا ایک نل لگا ہے۔ اور وضو بنایا اور دو رکعات نماز ادا کی۔ نماز ختم کرنے کے بعد مزار قائداعظمؒ پر حاضر ہوا فاتحہ پڑھی۔ جب یہ چیز فاتحہ پڑھ چکا آنکھ کھل گئی۔

مسجد سے مؤذن صاحبان کی فجر کی نماز کی اذانوں کی دلکش آوازیں فضا میں گونج رہی تھیں۔

جس عمارت کو خواب میں اس ناچیز نے دیکھا جو مقبرہ قائداعظمؒ ہے۔ صبح دس بجے یہ اسے ضبط تحریر کر دیا۔

احقر ناچیز

محمد اللہ صدیقی آرٹسٹ

فلیٹ ۱۲۷ مقب حیدر آباد کالونی کراچی

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Dream of Mohammed (may peace be upon him) Ahadullah Siddique, artist,
Dated, night of 26 *Ramadan-ul-Mubarik*, 1377 H, equivalent to 16th April 1958

The most contemptible returned to bed after *sehri* (the meal before the call for morning prayers during Ramadan, the month of fasting). I can see the tomb of Quaid-e-Azam (*may God bless his soul*) at approximately a distance of one *furlong*. People are passing by. One of them said aloud, "This is it, Quaid-e-Azam's tomb."

The most contemptible walks towards the tomb. The tomb's building is very large and tall. The contemptible climbed the steps and passed through the marble platform to arrive at the huge arch. He then passed through the door into the interior. The interior is very spacious. All four sides have very large arches. Each of these has doors. Each of the four corners has beautiful tall minarets. The ceiling is very high and is covered by a dome in the middle. In one corner, there is a space for offering the prayers. Nearby, in a corner is a small fountain with a water tap. The contemptible cleansed himself (ablution) and offered two *rakat* prayers. After the prayers (he) made an attendance at the tomb of Quaid-e-Azam (*may God bless his soul*) and offered a *fatiha* (prayer for the dead). The worthless woke up as soon he finished the *fatiha*.

The heartening music of the *muazin* (callers for prayers) from the mosques were echoing in the air.

The building witnessed by this humble servant in the revealed dream is the tomb of Quaid-e-Azam (*may God bless his soul*). (I) captured the vision, first thing in the morning.

The most contemptible and the worthless,

Mohammed *(may peace be upon him)* Ahadullah Siddique, artist
adjoining but behind 127 Hyderabad colony, Karachi.

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XII

22

ڈلوال
16.3.91

بخدمت جناب مادر ملت صاحبہ

علیا۔ آداب۔ جناب قائداعظم صاحب کی یادگار اسمبلیہ جمہوریہ پاکستان کی انتہائی خوشی جو عنقریب ہے۔ نیز بعض اہل خوشی میں خدمت اقدس میں ۵ روپے پیش کر رہا ہوں منظور فرمائیے۔ جو ۲۵ مارچ 91ء کے روز جناب قائداعظم صاحب کے مزار پر میری جانب سے ۲ روپے کے پھول چڑھائے جائیں۔ ۲ روپے آپ سیکرٹری صاحب کیلئے و ۲ روپے ہیڈ صاحب کے لنگر میں مستحقین کو بزمہ فروش اسی خوشی پر تقسیم کیے جائیں۔ گو یہ جناب کے شایان شان تو نہیں۔ لیکن التجا معاف۔ ہمارا ایمان ہے۔ کہ یہ قائداعظم صاحب کی پاک روح مبارک کی جانب سے پیش خدمت کر رہا ہوں۔ نیز مادر ملت صاحبہ ہماری عدت سے یہ دل میں تمنا جیلی آرہی ہے۔ کہ کبھی ڈلوال میں تشریف لانیکی دعوت منظور فرمائی جائیں۔

سوھا عاجز آداب۔

حکیم محمد نواز ولد سوہیدار احمد خان
ڈلوال، تحصیل پنڈ دادنخان، ضلع جہلم

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Dalwal,

16- 3-58.

In the service of Janab Mother of the Nation Sahiba,

Madam, Blessings, The Memorial to Janab Quaid-e-Azam Sahib (Islamic democracy of Pakistan)

(Pakistan day) is arriving and is very near. Please accept my meager gift of Rs. 20/- in the celebratory mood of this grand and happy occasion. Please use Rs. 10/- for sheets of flowers to be laid on 23 March 1958 at Quaid-e-Azam's tomb as a token of my love. Rs. 5/- are for your personal secretary and Rs. 5/- for your household servants to buy fruit with in the celebration of this mementos day. Admittedly though this (amount) is not worthy of being sent to someone of Janab's (Fatima Jinnah or Jinnah?) stature, but render forgiveness, *Alijah*, (sir) our faith suggests that this is being presented on the behalf of the pure soul of Quaid-e-Azam sahib. Moreover, our dear Mother of the nation Sahiba, we have been long desirous that someday invitation to Dalwal be accepted.

Blessing form your humble attendant

Yours

Hakim Mohammad Nawaz, father of *Subedar* (district police sub-inspector) qahmed Khan

Dalwal, *Tehsil* Pinddad Nakhan, *Zila* (sub-district) Jhelum

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XIII

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To

The Chairman,
Quaid-i-Azam Memorial Committee,
Karachi.

Respected Sir,

The hopes that a mausoleum worthy of Quaid-i-Azam's memory depicting our own culture, civilisation and architecture will be raised instead of one entirely foreign to our heritage, have once again been revived with the issue of Government's latest press note. Needless to say that the design approved by the last Government would not have satisfied the people much less the soul of Quaid-i-Azam who was all for banishing foreign influence from this land rather than for perpetuating it in the design of his own Mazar. This bold step is being widely acclaimed.

2. As a humble lover of Quaid-i-Azam and our own heritage and especially when I am in touch with the architectural profession, I wish to pay my tribute to the memory of the Father of Nation by presenting my own vision of his Mausoleum.

3. Any building resembling the great architectural feats of Moghal period can be a representative of Muhammadan Architecture and the Taj Mahal at Agra, ranks foremost amongst the monuments of that period. So, inspired by the great architectural qualities of Taj Mahal, as late as 1949 I had visualized the design of Qaid-i-Azam's Mausoleum after the design of thiswonder of the world and named it as "Pak Mahal". Two photographs of the plan and elevation are enclosed. This is a modified design of one appreciated by Khatoon-i-Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah.

4. The old design has been modernized by introducing flat lintels instead of arches and by giving treatment of pylon to the four faces. Domes have been retained to depict our architecture. The plan has the capacity of accommodating the mazar of Quaid-i-Millat.

5. I think my design is a combination of Muhammadan and modern architecture and is fully representative of our culture, civilisation and architecture. I request that my humble presentation may be considered.

Yours obediently,

Mohd Gulzar Khan

(Mohd Gulzar Khan)
ARCHITECTURAL ASSISTANT,
Consulting Architect's office,
Daulat Khana, Bahawalpur.

9/11-1-49.

Copy with compliments submitted to Khatoon-i-Pakistan Miss. Fatima Jinnah.

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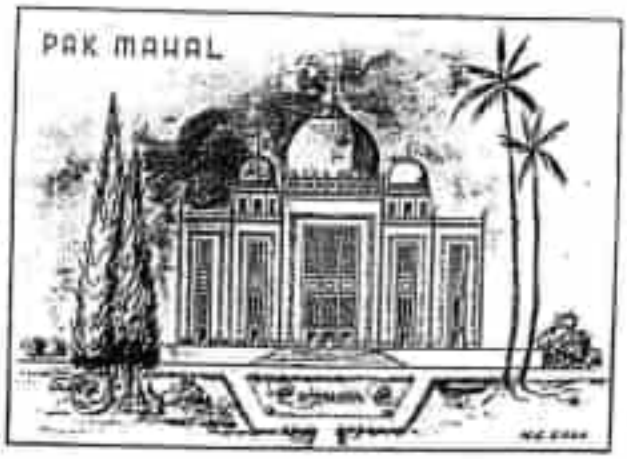

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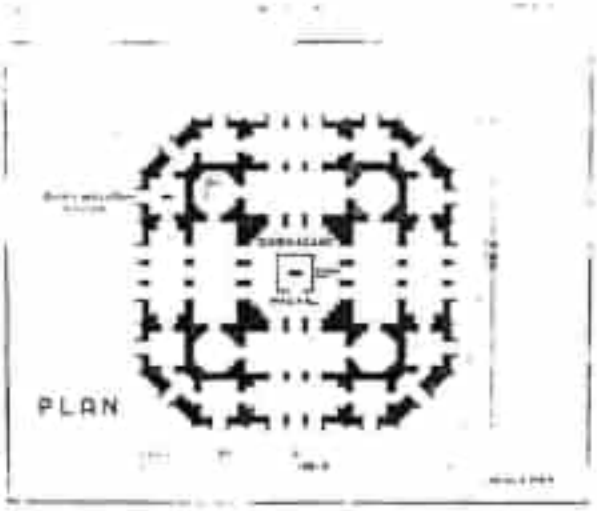

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THARIANI & Co.

INCORPORATED
ARCHITECTS
&
ENGINEERS

Date 23.2.1959.

XN

Dear Mohtarama,

I hope this finds you in the best of health.

You were kind enough to give me an interview when I acquainted you with the facts regarding the Mausoleum design.

I am glad you expressed happiness at Salim's sharing the third prize in the competition.

As explained, he had submitted the design in conjunction with a Russian and two other architects.

As desired, I had left at your residence the photostats of Salim's design which you must have received.

If the design that won the 1st prize is rejected then on merits we deserve a chance since we have been placed third and moreover since our design commemorated not only the Quaid-e-Azam but also his three principles : unity, faith and discipline.

Moreover, if any Pakistani architect is to be incorporated with the foreign architects we should stand first chance because we shared the third prize and because our firm has executed works worth crores of Rupees in Pakistan including the tallest building of Pakistan (the Mohamadi House).

You are well aware of the connections I had with the Quaid-e-Azam and you also perhaps know that I had the privilege of being his architect when I designed the tomb of Mrs. Jinnah so far back as 1929.

I feel sure, you will support a just cause.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Thariani

To
Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah,
Flagstaff House,
Off. Frere Hall,
KARACHI.

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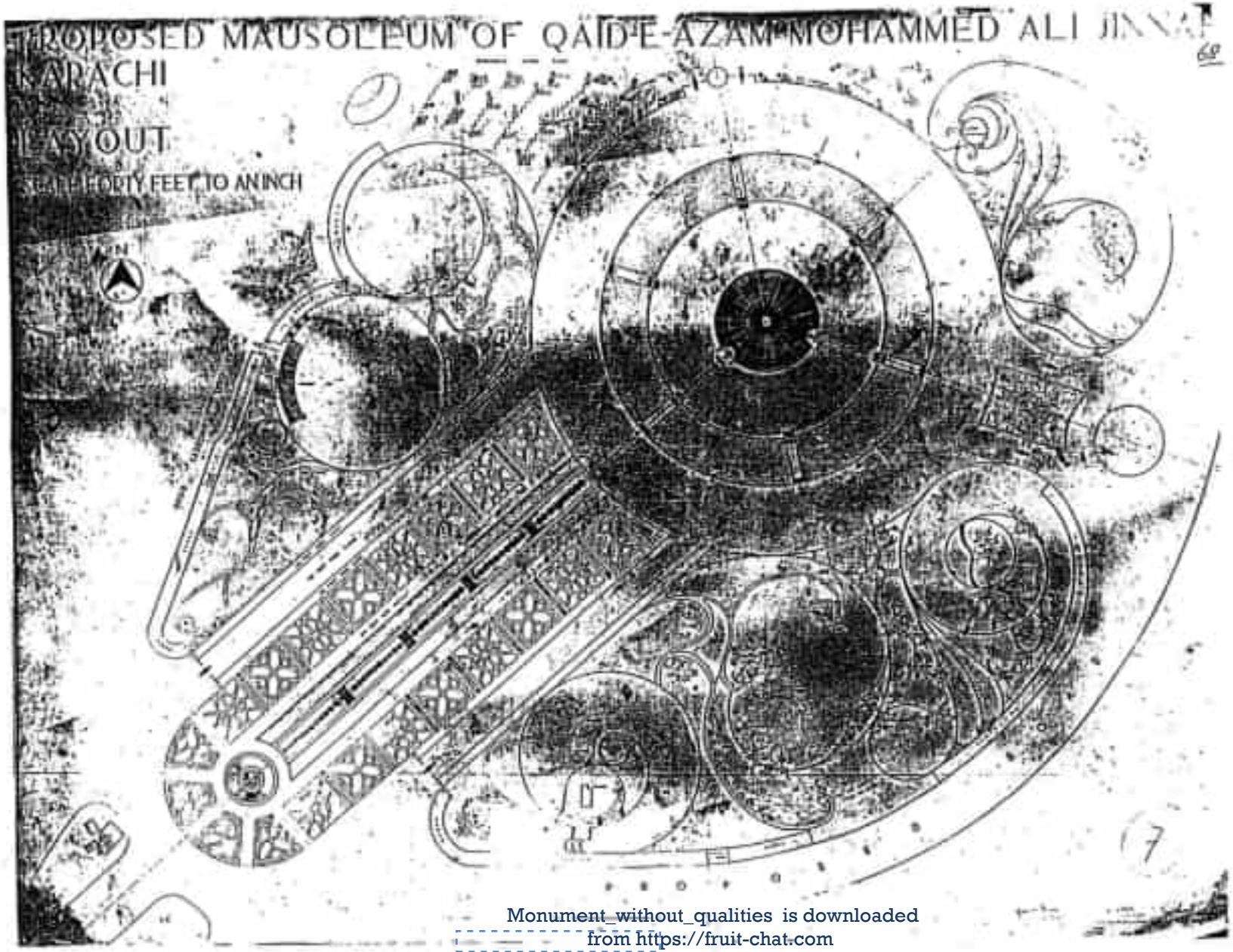

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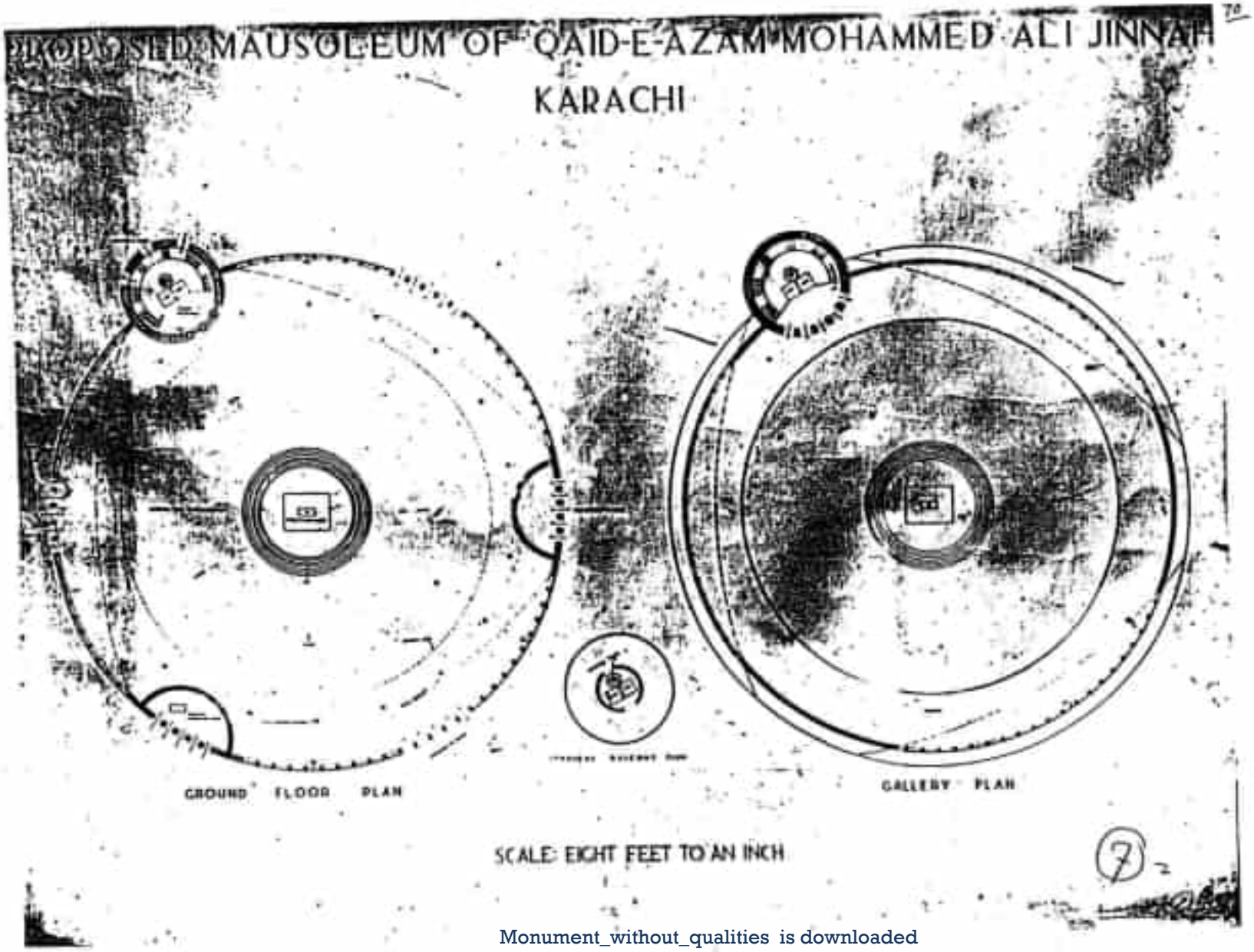

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XV

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THARIANI & Co.

Abdulhussein M. Thariani
Saleem Mohd. A. Thariani

INCORPORATED ARCHITECTS & ENGINEERS

Bombay 21/9/45

very personal

My Dear Mohatarama,

I read with interest the news about the Elanmaolaum design getting ready under your direct control. May Allah help you to evolve a befitting monument to your great Prophet and our great Creed.

There has been a practice that in case a foreign architectis design is taken - Some local architects are made associates for execution of the work - to facilitate easy working and also to save foreign exchange in fees.

If your goodness can bear us in mind for that purpose we shall be proud to be associated with this very noble project.

Thanking you, Yours sincerely with regards. Thariani.

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15, Jethamal Wadhumal Building, Butna Road,

Karachi October 4, 1959.

Mohtrma Miss Fatima Jinnah,
Flag Staff House,
Karachi.

Dear Madam,

Most respectfully, I beg to submit to your greatness following few lines in connexion with the designing of QUAID-I-AZAM's Mausoleum.

Your kindness has very kindly granted two interviews in which I showed you the model of the design I submitted and which reflects the grandness of Quaide Azam , his life freedom and history of Pakistan in addition to its Islamic form with due regard to modernity.

On my last interview on the 4th of March you showed great interest in my 2nd plan (Phot attached) and very kindly suggested some improvement on the lines of Emperor Humayun's tomb at Delhi. I was on my way of presenting to you an improved design while I came across a news item that a Bharati Architect has been commissioned for it. May I point out that Indian Govt. never allowed any Pakistani artist or Architect to compete for Gandhi's Samadhi. Pakistan has many talents and I am confident your efforts may bring some prestige for Pakistan if you select ONLY PAKISTAN men to design it.

May I be given another chance to talk to you and convey my idea for the design of a magnificient memorial for your Brother.

Yours most obediently,

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QUAID-E-AZAM'S MAUSOLEUM

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One of the most cherished desires of every Pakistani is to see a fitting memorial to the Quaid-e-Azam erected with the least possible delay. It is widely agreed that this memorial must be something grand and magnificent, of a dimension to match the greatness of the man whom it will commemorate. But it must also be a monument with which every Pakistani, be he ever so lowly, is able to identify himself, so that however outstanding its architectural excellence and its beauty, it remains above all the tribute of a grateful people to a beloved leader.

Mr. Ainuddin's design has an ethereal quality which invests it with lightness and a sense of other-worldliness proper to a memorial of this nature. The spirit of the beholder soars upward. And yet there is solidity and breadth, reflecting the character of the man who is commemorated, and the marble structure takes root firmly in his beloved Pakistan. The dominant feature is the dome, a very necessary element in any Islamic mausoleum.

The design is a compromise between the demands of currently accepted architectural standards and the sentimental attachment of the people of Pakistan to the traditional Islamic form. This attachment cannot be brushed aside, no matter how much sophisticated opinion may chafe at it. It was with this fact in mind that Mr. Ainuddin set about designing a mausoleum with the virtue of combining a felicitous idea of undoubted appeal to the people of Pakistan and a due regard for the demands of modernity.

Specifically, Mr. Ainuddin's design incorporates these distinctive elements:

1. It constantly emphasizes the Star and Crescent motif, lending the mausoleum a genuinely Islamic character and cleverly making use of the national symbol of Pakistan. The five-point star is recognizable in the superstructure surmounting the tomb and in the formation of the 72 approach steps; the crescent appears in the circular colonnade which encloses the mausoleum. Further the 5 crescent-shaped segments of the colonnade and the 5 minarets which rise from them represent the 5 former provinces of India which the Quaid-e-Azam welded into the State of Pakistan.

2. Each of the approach steps will bear an inscription, recounting some outstanding event in the Quaid-e-Azam's life. There are 72 steps - one for each year of his life - and the inscriptions taken together will constitute a unique chronological record for posterity.

3. The roads diverging from the 5 points of the star-shaped mausoleum are so laid down that passersby on any of the 4 highways which skirt the site are afforded a fine view of the structure.

4. The gardens will be given a solemnistic touch by the inclusion of representations of the 9 planets of the Universe and their moons to be used as shelters for visitors. These will be constructed like the airform houses. One of these structures - representing Saturn - to be located where the Old Exhibition is now situated, will house shops and restaurants.

5. The colonnade encircling the mausoleum will be used as an extensive covered car parking area. A small section of it will contain a guard house for the police.

6. A crescent shaped area to the south west has been reserved for the future construction of mosque, library etc. At the points of this crescent will be two minarets which will enhance the oriental appearance of the whole scheme.

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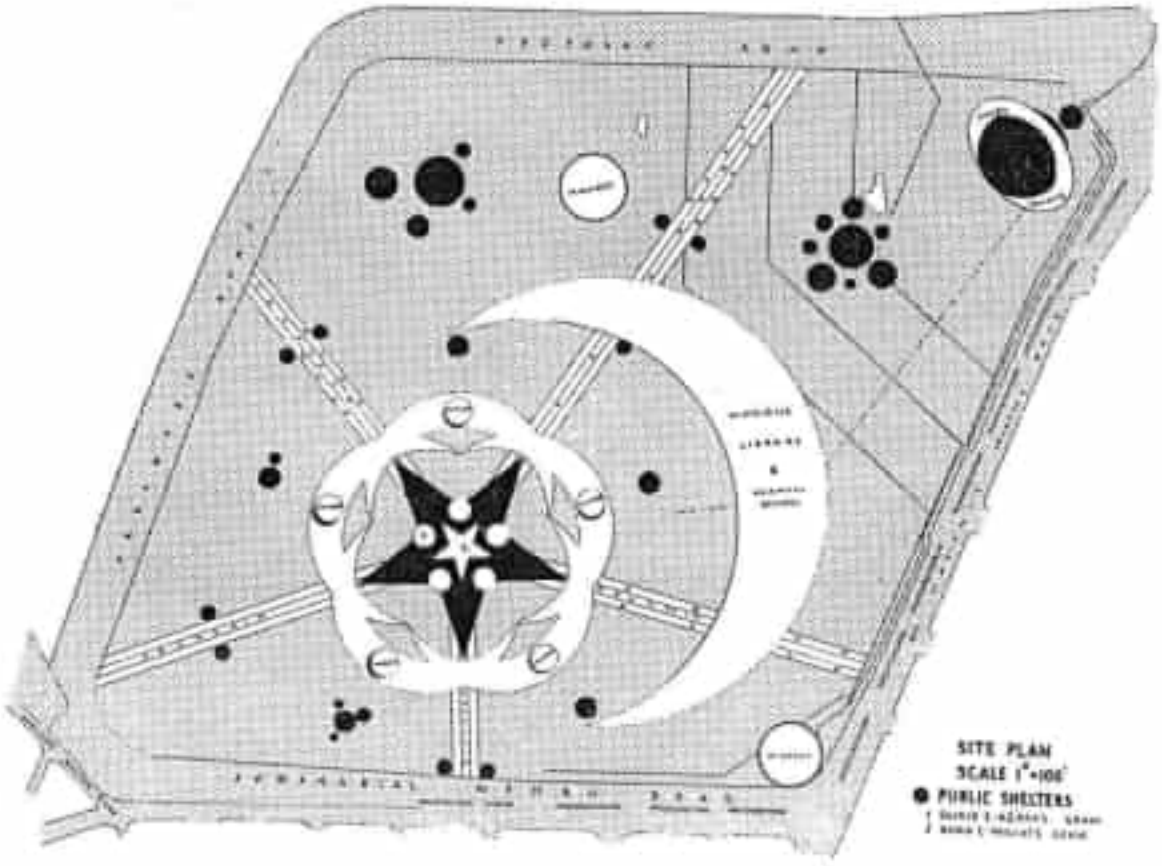

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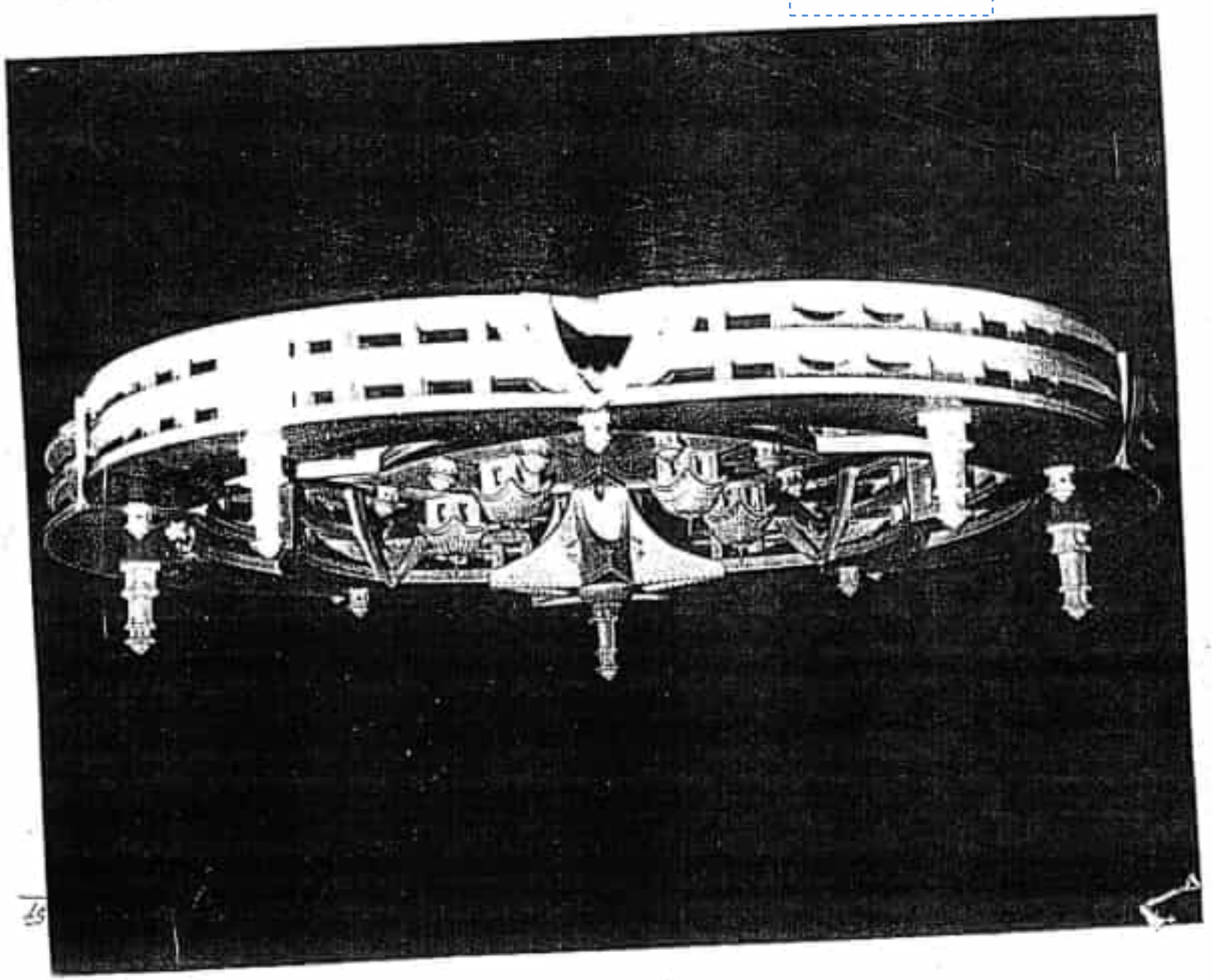

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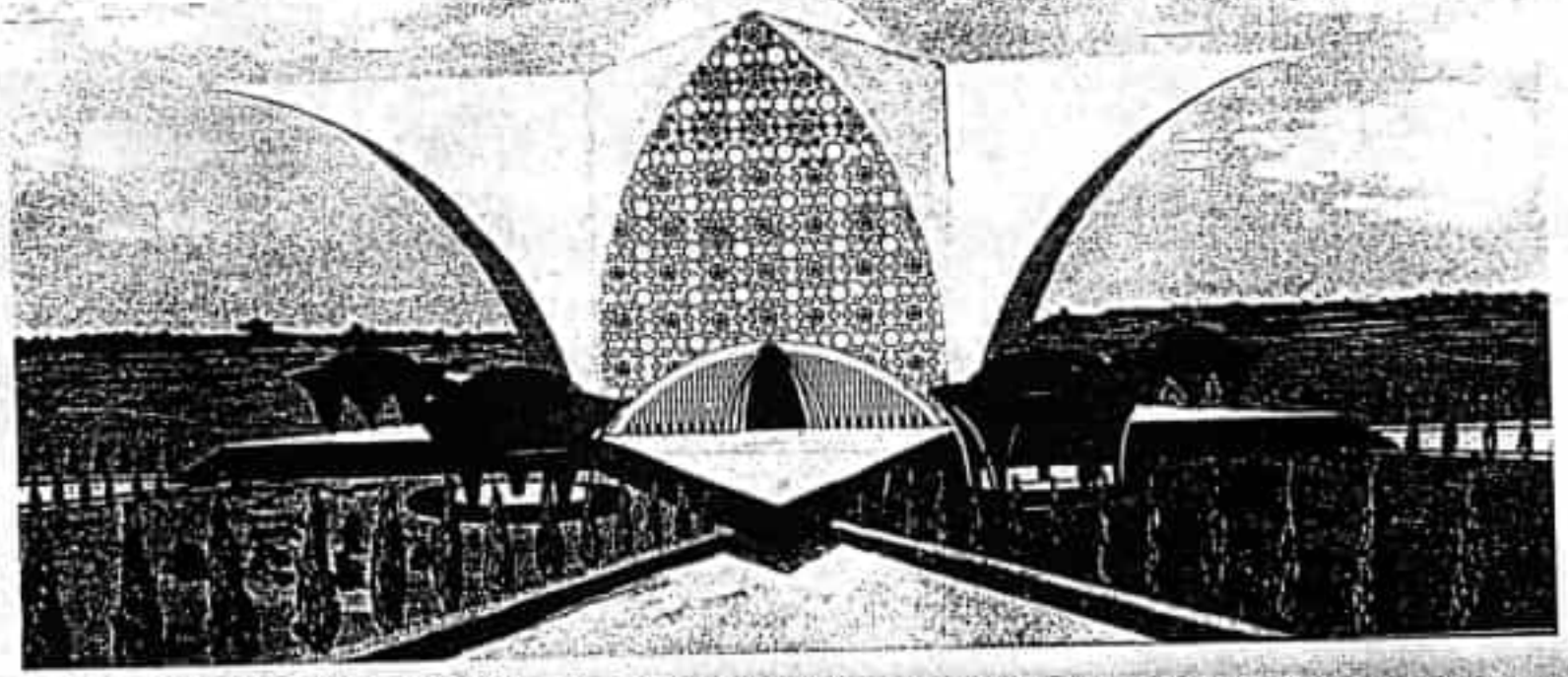

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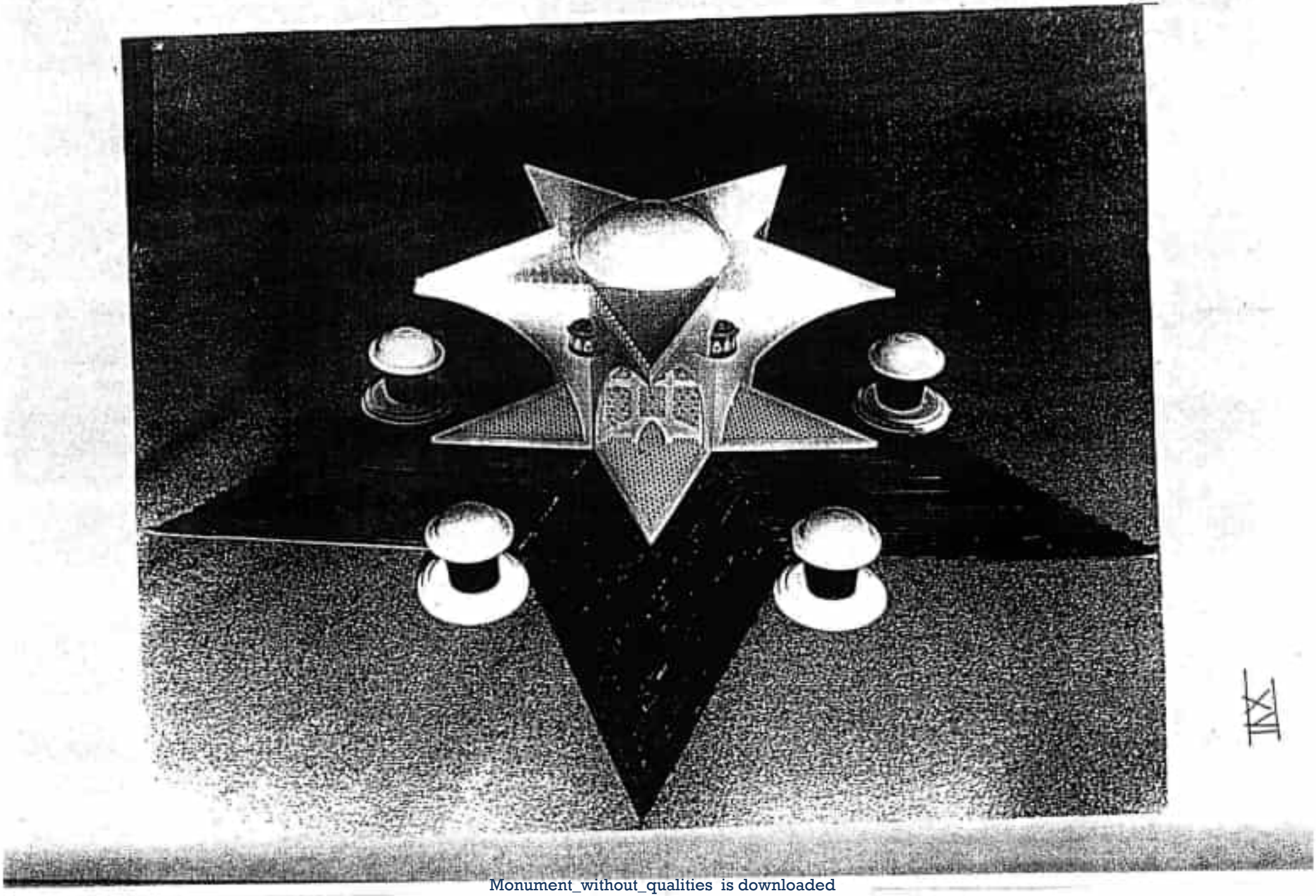

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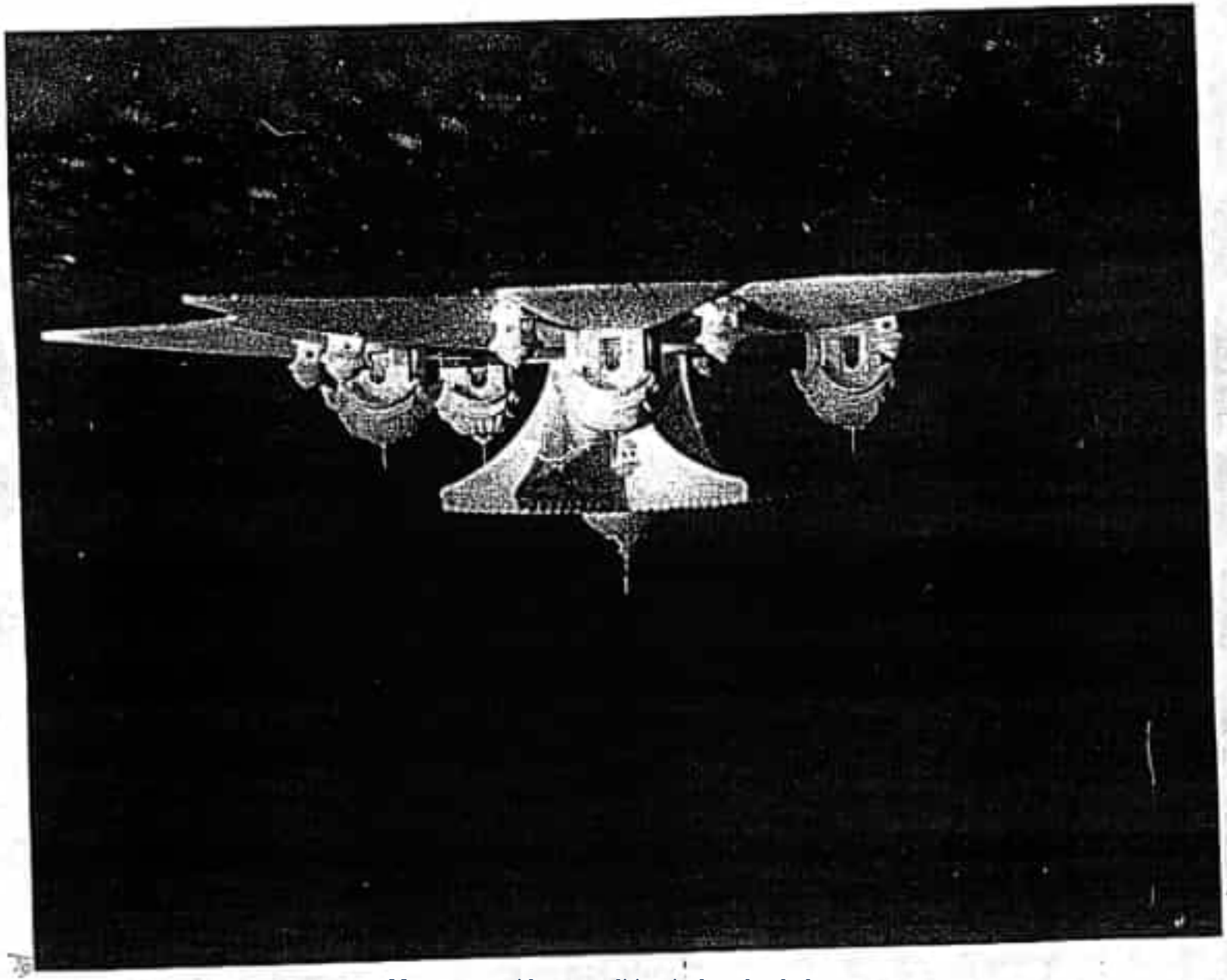

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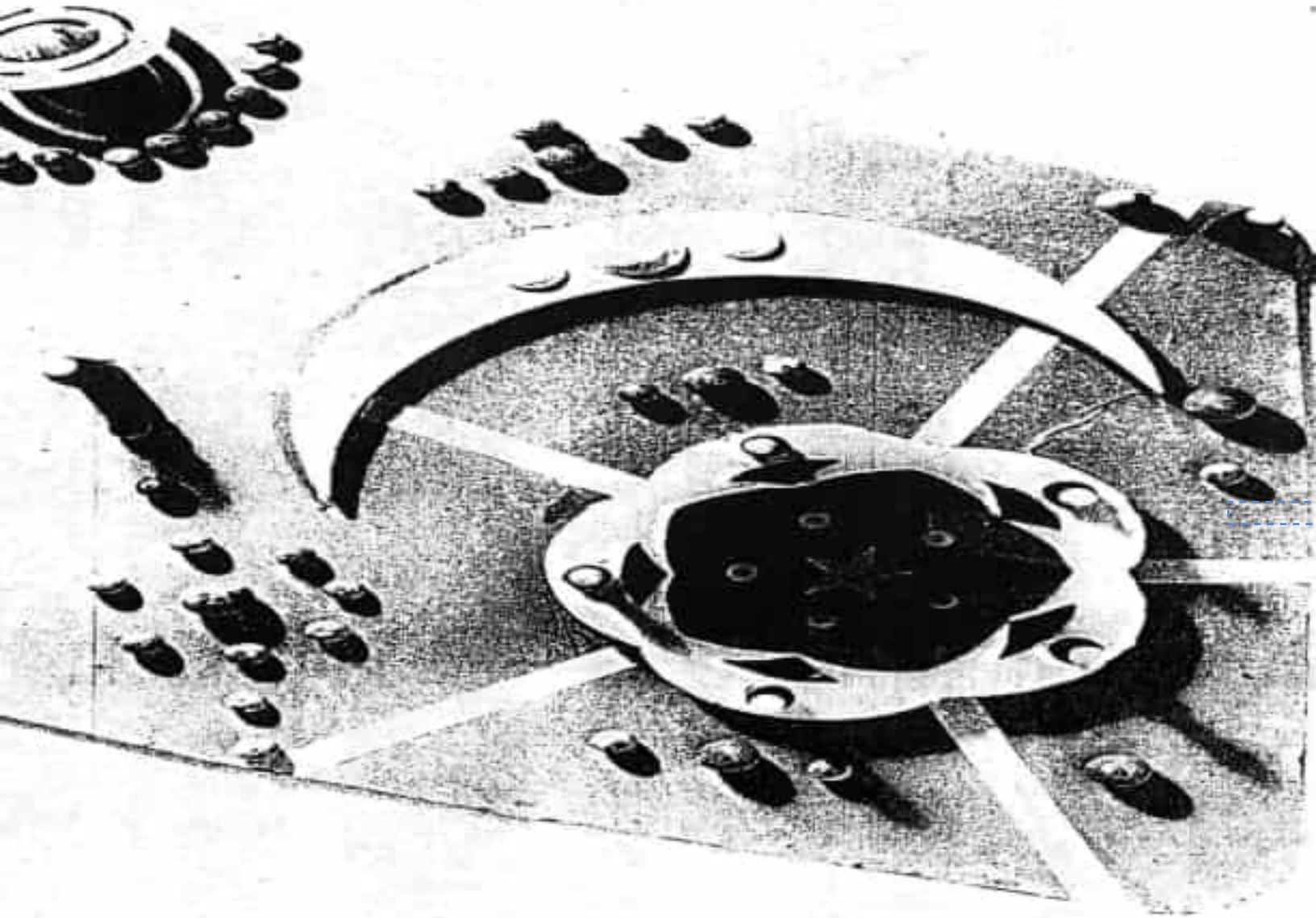

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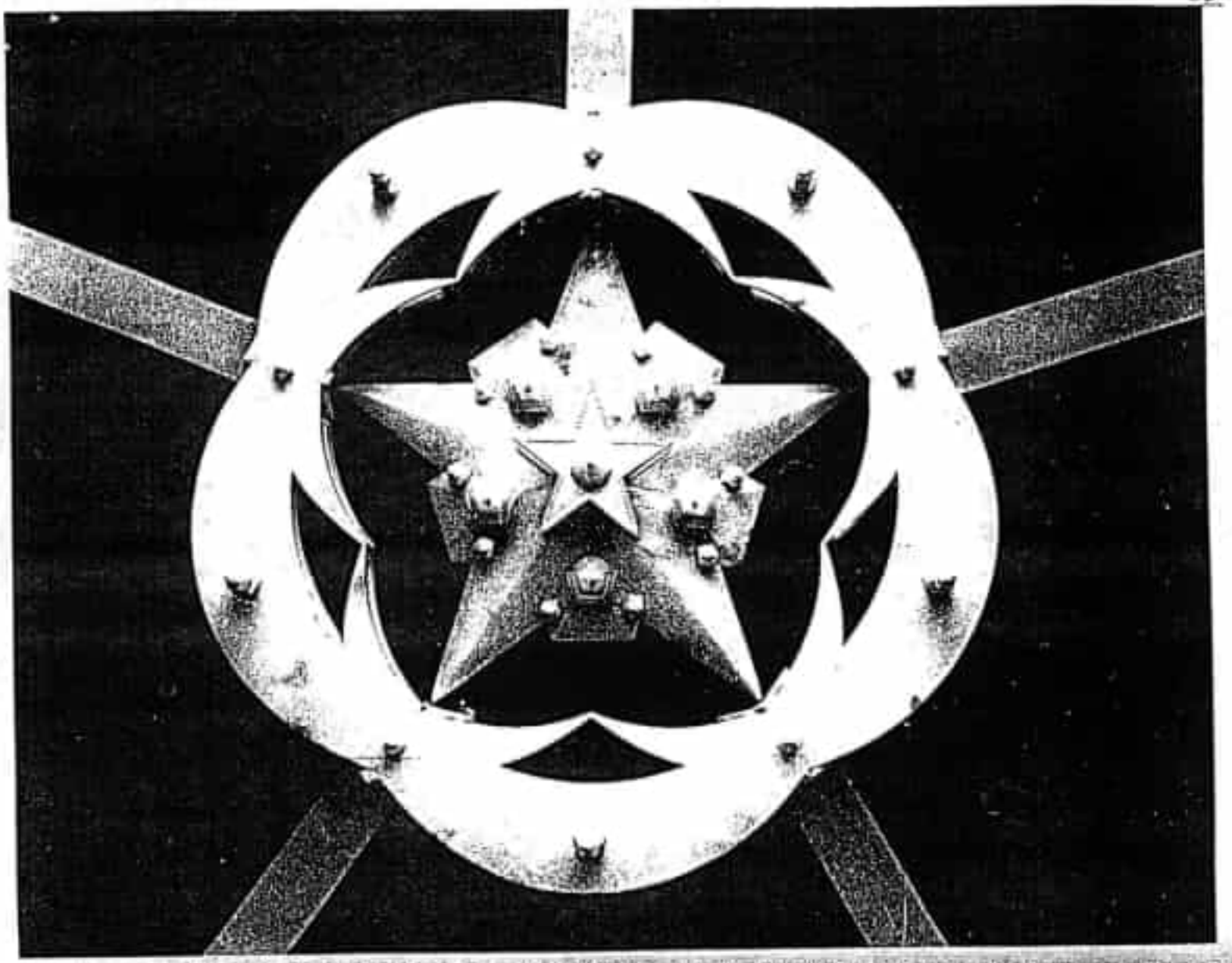

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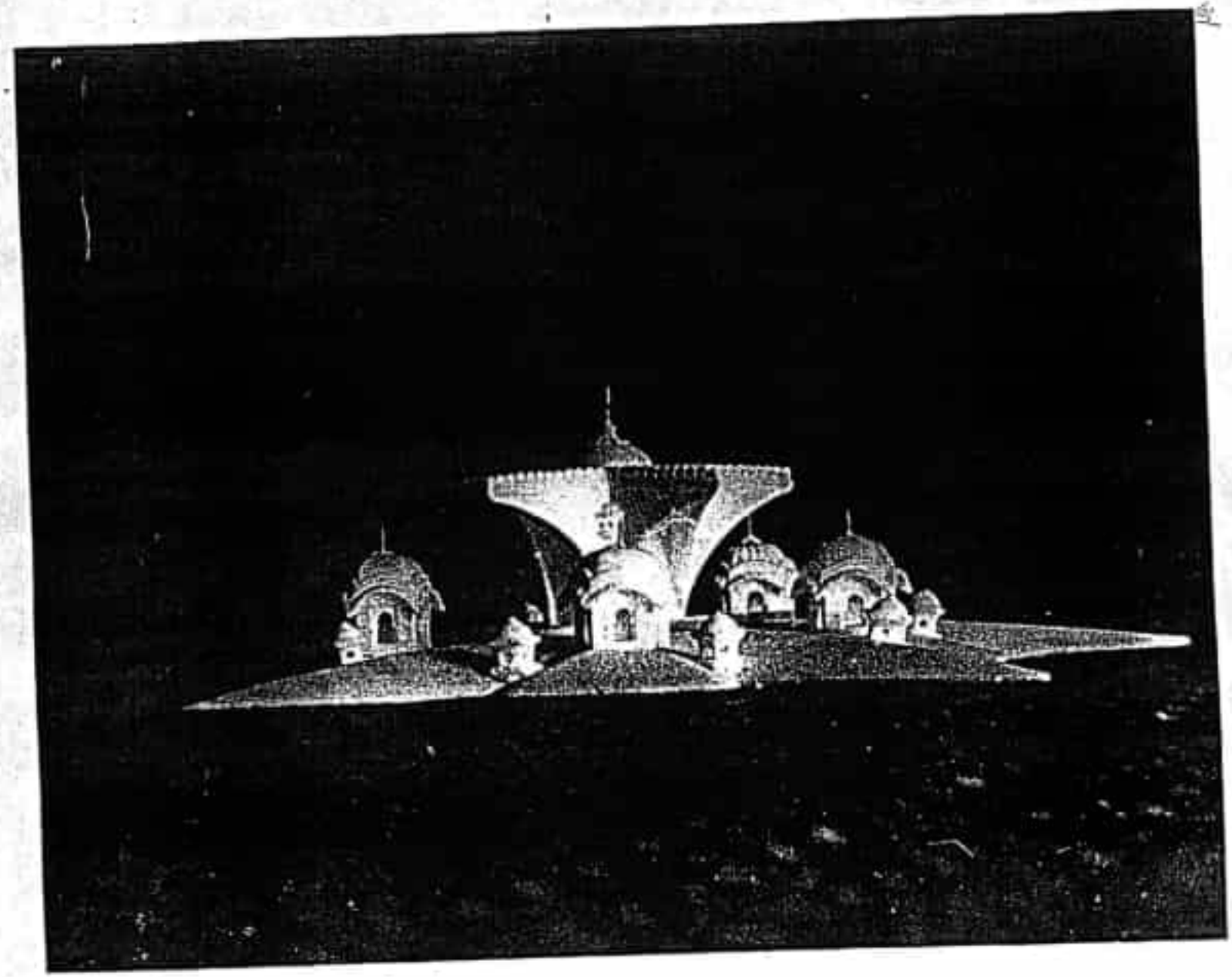

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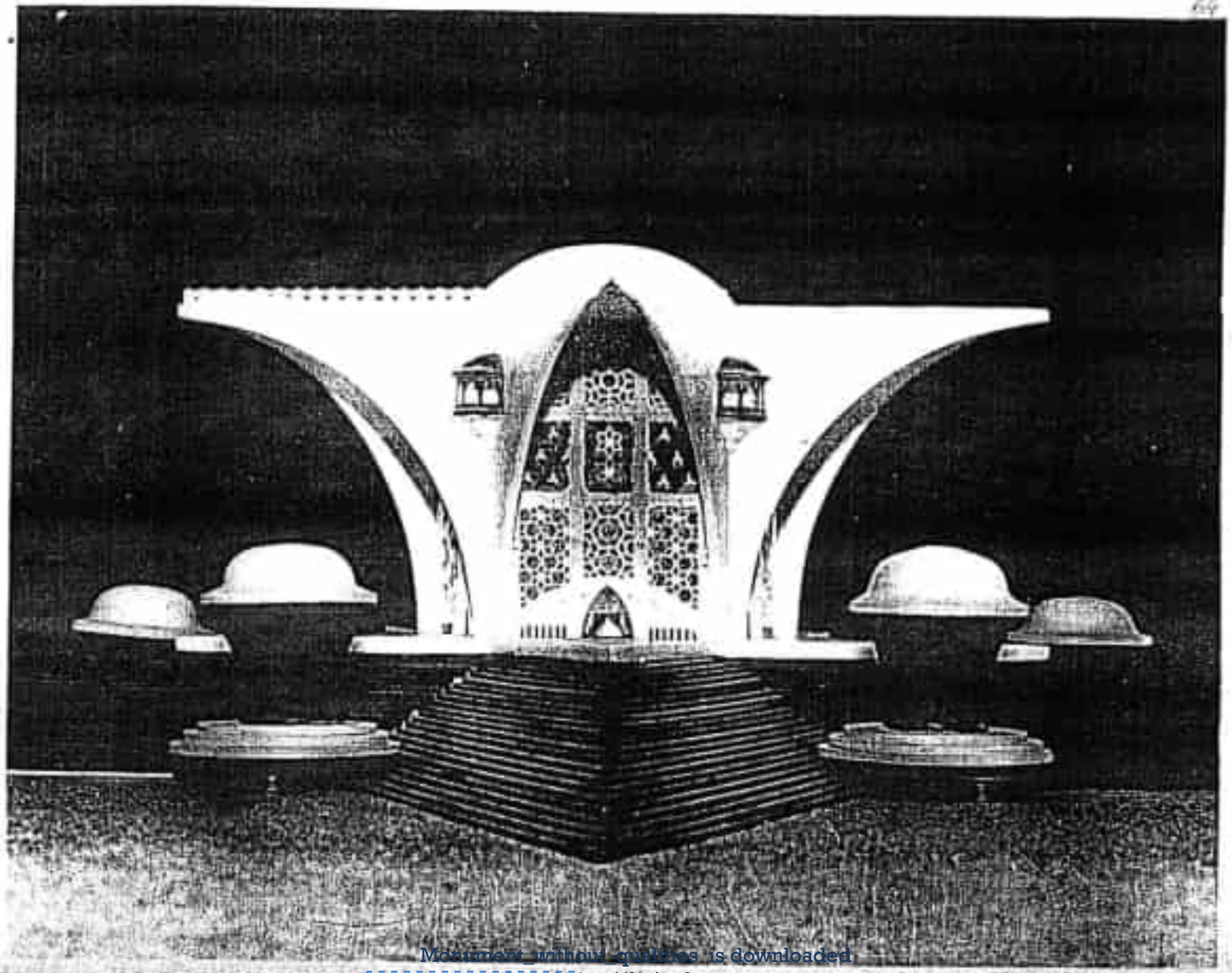

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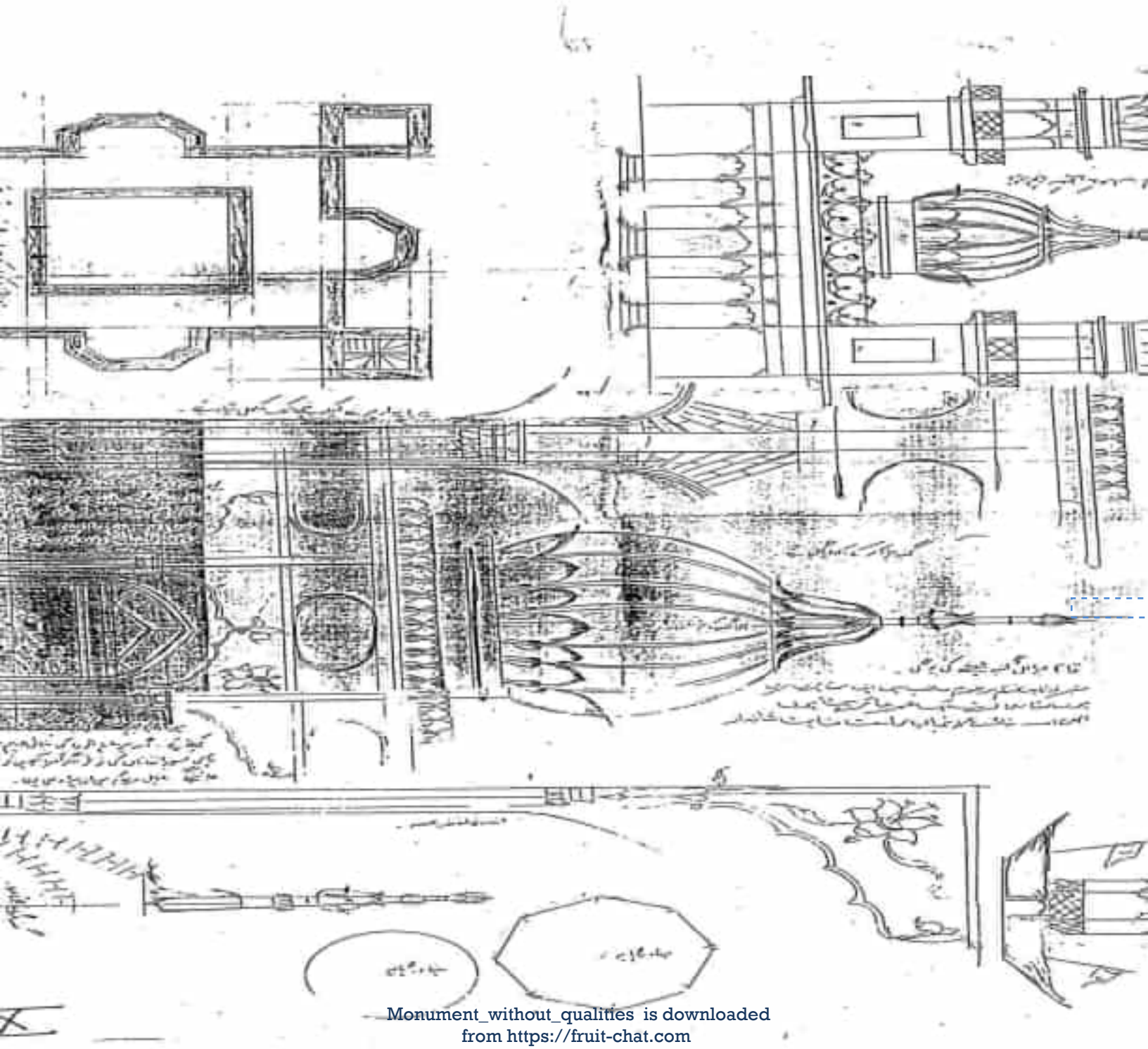

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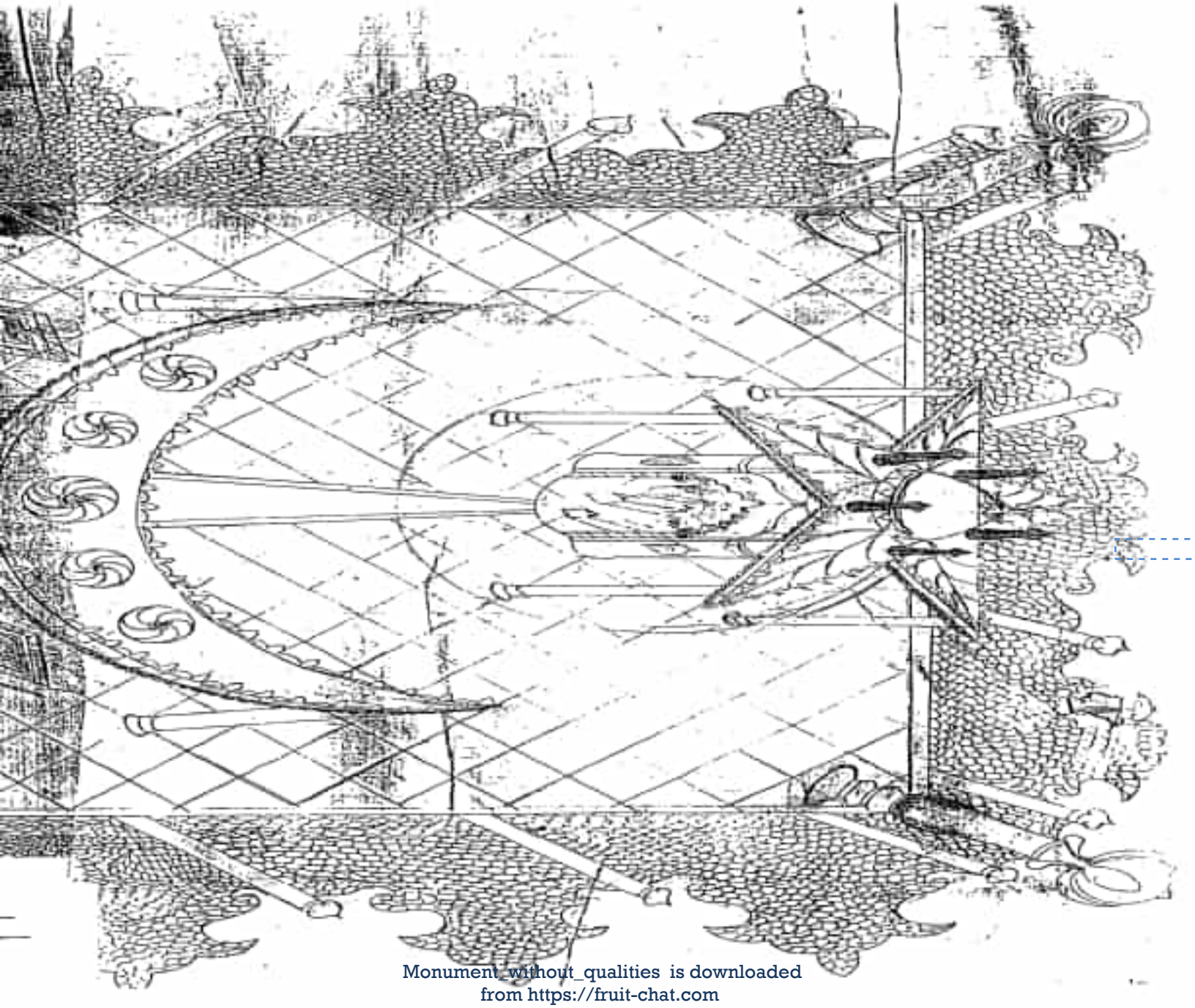

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76 Woodsend Road,
Flixton,
Manchester.

Dear Madam,

I am writing to you with reference to my proposed design, of Quaid-i-Azam's Mausoleum, which was published in Dawn of 4th October, and about which my brother Mr Burney and his friend Mr Inayat Ullah had a short conversation with you at your residence on October the 12th.

I do not believe in presenting myself as an obstinate artist who stubbornly cleaves to his own ideals and pays no attention to the remarks made by his critics. On the contrary, I always welcome constructive criticisms and my hand always rises to salute the people who try to point out my "mistakes". However, to make sure that this flexibility of thought is not considered to be the lack of self confidence, I should like to point out that usually the skill of a shrewd expert is needed to convince me of my mistakes ; and the people who are not equiped with this quality do not manage to undulate my thoughts by their remarks about my work.

I have noted your criticisms about my design with great interest and assure you that I have some very convincing answers to give. But it is not my intention to discuss the merits or demerits of my design in this letter, because that now seems to me to be a matter of less importance. The more important issue which has haunted me for last few days is your decision of having the Mausoleum designed in what you call "The Pure Islamic Style of Architecture", and it is

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in this connection that I most humbly put forward the following few lines for your kind consideration.

Only the last two of the eight years of my architectural education were devoted exclusively to the study of Islamic Architecture, but even during this, comparatively short,period I was able to go through almost each and every book, on the subject, that was available in the most comprehensive libraries of Manchester and London. However, I do not remember to have come across the phrase "Pure Islamic" ; and in view of whatever knowledge I possess I do not believe that there is a single building on the face of the earth which can be considered as an example of "Pure Islamic Architecture".

You, yourself, have suggested (and I agree with you) that the Mogaul Style of India can not be considered as Pure Islamic because it has been greatly influenced by the native style of Hindus. But somehow you seem to have ignored the fact that this logical formula applies to all those countries where the examples of Islamic Architecture have been erected.

> In Persia and Iraq the Islamic Architecture has been influenced by the Sassanian & Early Persian styles.
>
> In Arabia, Egypt, and North Africa, it has been influenced by the Coptic and Early Egyptian styles of Architecture.
>
> In Syria, Turkey, and Spain, it has been influenced by the Byzantine style of Architecture.

Thus the influence always seems to have been from outside and from non-Islamic sources ; and there is no reason to dispute this fact which is quite understandable in view of our past history. We all know that the religion of Islam emerged from Arabia at a time when

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two well established civilizations were already reaching their prime in two different parts of the world. (There was the Buddhist and Hindu civilization in the East and the Christian civilization in the West.) ~~K~~ We are also aware of the fact that the Arabs, before the rise of Islam, were considerably backward and were familiar with only a primitive way of life. Their tents of black hair cloth and their houses of mud bricks were bare of any architectural pretentions and therefore prove that the Muslims did not possess a style of architecture of their own to start with.

The first recorded building ever erected by Muslims, and historians are almost unanimous on this issue, was the house built by Muhammad at Madina soon after his migration from Mecca in A.D. 622. This building as we see it today is the result of many alterations made by different Caliphs at different times. But certain historians refer to a description of the original building given by one Abd Allah Ibn-i-Yazid who saw it just before it was partially demolished (to be reconstructed of course) by the order of Caliph Al Walid in A.D. 707. According to this description the original walls were of mud bricks with different rooms partitioned off by palm branches plastered with mud. The door openings had curtains of black hair cloth and one could touch the ceiling with one's hand.

Yes, this is the description of the building where not only our Prophet but His such noble assistants as Abu-Bakr, Umar, Usman, & Ali, spent most of their lives ; and although during the reign of Umar and Usman the economical conditions of the Caliphate were reasonable, no attempt was made to develop the building in any particular style of Architecture.

In view of all that has been said above one can easily conclude that the Muslims did not have a style of architecture of their own and

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whatever buildings they erected were influenced by the non-Muslim styles of one kind or another. But it will be untrue to say that Muslims had no part to play in the development of what we now call Islamic Architecture ; because the incredible styles of Caligraphy, the intricate patterns of Arabesques, and charming forms of Stalactite, which are so frequently used in Islamic buildings, are the features for which Muslims and Muslims alone were responsible. With the help of these decorative features Muslims were able to disguise almost any style of architecture, and they did so to such an extent and in such a beautiful way that the formation of an apparently new style became inevitable and it is this style that we now call Saracanic or Islamic Style of Architecture.

Knowing what Islamic Architecture is , I believe it is almost impossible to design a building in Pure Islamic Style and I have every sympathy with the architects who, obviously not being aware of the facts, have accepted the commission to do so. I am quite confident that these architects, whether they imitate Granada of Spain or Cairo of Egypt, will find themselves in great trouble. Not only because of the style of architecture they will produce but also because of the structural, constructional, and geological, difficulties they will have to face. The whole process, I think, will be as difficult and as futile as to give lessons of chariot driving to the pilots of Pakistan Air Force.

The world is changing so rapidly (even from the architectural point of view) that if we did not change accordingly, in no time we will be left behind in the darkness of decadence, and it will be a great pity if the decadence from which we were saved by our great leader Quaid-i-Azam is imposed on us through his Mausoleum.

Whatever I have said above is not to support my own design but to suggest a right approach. Believe me, I could have written a longer

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letter in favour of my own design, but that was not my intention. I will have no regrets if my design is rejected as long as the priority is given to a more appropriate design.

Finally, madam, I hope you will be kind enough to favour me with an answer, and to forgive me if I have said anything distasteful to you.

Please remember, it is customary for elders to forgive youngsters.

Yours faithfully,

27.10.59.

Irshad A. Burney.

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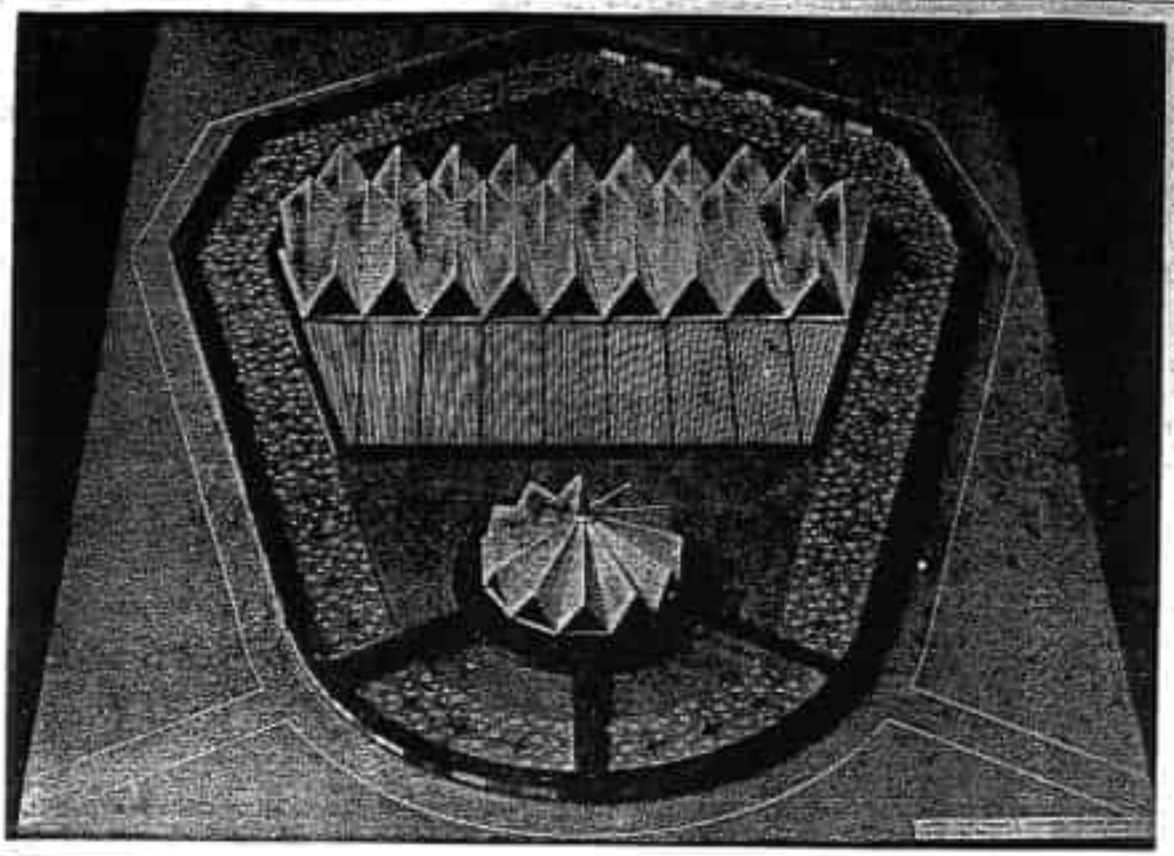
Magazine Sunday, October 4, 1959



Of veil and women

MUCH has been said, written and propheised about Muslim women and the veil they should or should not wear. Many a warning finger has been lifted to emphasize the opinions, for or against.

It is certainly a fact that in many muslim land alone all manner the vanishing veils of the veil would have all the accents of

QUAID-I-AZAM'S MAUSOLEUM

A suggestion

A MODEL of the Quaid-i-Azam's Mausoleum and Mosque, designed and prepared by Mr Yahya A. Bukhari, is now the subject of

Wonders of model aviation

by Rual B. Mahab

WHEN one looks back over the past few years, the rapid strides model aviation has taken makes one eager to know what new wonders this hobby will produce in the future. Perfec-

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Zhob,

Fort Sundee

5 August, 60.

Congratulations-Congratulations-Congratulations.

Mohtarma Bibi Fatima, blessings and respects,

First of all, because my pocket is absolutely empty, I apologize for this (humbly presented) letter in your service. After winning the appeal in session court and the (consequent) release from Peshawar jail, the heat and unemployment drove me to Fort Sundee, Quetta, via Dera Ismail Khan in search of work. When I reached Fort Sundee at night, a friend let me put up at his place. (I) cleaned and bathed in a rivulet for *fajr* (morning) prayers and offered *fatiha* at the grave of a *faqir*. *Inna lilahie waina illahael rajaeoon* (may God bless his soul). The poor could not even get a piece of *malysha* (a type of cloth used for making school or military uniform) in Peshawar and Dera of your dear brother's Pakistan or the Pakistan of General Field Marshal Ayub Khan. The clothes around my neck are so old and torn, that (I was) hoping to buy some fabric and stitch a pair or two of clothes. For the moment, I am residing at a friend's place in Fort Sundee with no fare-money, only old and torn clothes. May God be kind to this friend, who provides me with two meals and tea a day. And a (friend) had even promised the fare-money for Quetta. The departure from Fort Sundee hence, depends on when I find a few *tikas* (change) in the pocket. Let's see what figures next.

Yes, if you are happy, then congratulations once again that the foundation stone of your deceased beloved elder brother's mausoleum's has been laid. It is evident from the images that appeared in the newspapers of the 2nd. But "sorry, what a pity." What's the use, for the work that has been incurred upon the mazar was not enough but beyond the limits set by God. Why did you indulge like this? The first sepulcher was simply for shrouding the body of the well-destined Baba Adam's (peace be upon his soul) son. When one son was murdered by the other, two crows arrived at the site. One killed the other and dug the ground for it and buried the killed crow there. On witnessing this scene, the murderer brother regained his senses and buried his murdered brother. And what is happening now, that on one grave anywhere from seventy-five *lakhs* to one *crore* are being spent. There is no doubt that a few laborers will get work for some two odd years, who will make some money for basic food needs. But really, what's the use? It is only a momentary advantage. How wonderful would it be if this money could too be

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spent on a sustained donation, or be distributed simply as gift-money. It will bear fruit for both this and the latter world. First and foremost, this tomb worship has been forbidden by no other than *Mohammad-ur-rasool-allah* (Mohammad, the prophet of God). Since when does Islam permit this and then specially in this country, where even the migrants have not been fully settled in twelve years. Sure Marshal (Ayub Khan) Sahib has built one odd house. Good work. But more important and more superior than this mausoleum was the mosque and the promised Institute of *Islamiat* (Islamic studies) where correct teachings of *Mohammad-ur-rasool-allah (may peace be upon him)* could be arranged. But then in there teaching there is no mention of this mausoleum, or is there? There are straightforward graves. Let's hope that the Pakistan ruled by Mohammad Ayub Khan today, tomorrow does not come under the leadership of someone like Sultan-ibn-e-Saud (the deceased), who will erase this tomb worship altogether. And then the pity is that a personality like Molana Ehtishamul-Haq Thanvi presents a praising address and accuses the previous devotees to be guilty of criminal neglect vis-à-vis the mausoleum. But hasn't the same *molana* (priest) been on and off a guide to the same criminals. Has he not been appearing with them on *eid* festivals and singing duets of Islamic democracy? Yet, no one has attended to this. Today, he is guilty of criminal neglect. And if you look at yourself, do you not find yourself even his *imam* (priest)? One does not know what has happened to Thariani Sahib. It seems as if he does not even possess the brains of a sub-inspector. Had I been in his place, (I) would have never ever laid the foundation of this mausoleum (considering) that its design has also been laid by a Parsi Yahya. Hi Parsi affiliation is betrayed by his name. (I) would have said to Yahya Merchant; Mister! First become a Muslim, then design. But where is Islam, where such graves are forbidden, and where are we?—In our village, Nawab Ghazi Mohammad Khan deceased and Behram Zanan deceased are buried in simple graves. Let me first mention Hari Singh Malwa who slaughtered people during one of the Sikh ascendancy feuds. He himself was martyred in Balakot during another Sikh war. (He is) buried in a simple, straight-forward grave. This is the same Hari Singh Malwa, who had held the grandfather of Mohammad Ayub Khan in Haripur jail at Attock and then martyred him by poisoning. But today Ayub Khan is just grabbing the Sikhs from the streets and sending them to not his personal but the state palace. *Wah wah!* In fact, in our village cemetery, Sir Dost Mohammed is also buried in a simple straight-forward grave, who took out and raised a sword over an Englishman like John Ron Kennel (with the intention) of killing him. Kennel ran from the parade ground and took refuge in the office. And today, we don't even know where the grave of *ghazi* ahadullah deceased is, who killed a colonel and who knows how many Sikhs. Burnt them alive or something.

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And then we have your beloved elder brother, who never even boldly spoke to the English. Till his very end, he wore English clothes. And even if he did confront them it too was "sugar coated." Unlike the *Khaksar* (your humble petitioner), (he) did not martyr even a single Englishman. Instead he destroyed the English acting like women who kill men with the slightest movement of their eyes. And you want to built a mausoleum for him.

What Mohammad Ayub Khan should have done is to abolish all ranks and should have excepted or adopted the rank which the deceased Quaid-e-Azam had had at the moment of his death. And then picked up the challenge from there. Thariani and Field Marshal sahib are just goods for talking. Thariani is just good for the *imamat* (leading the prayers) of all those in power, whom (I charge to be) guilty of criminal neglect. And about the performance of Field Marshal sahib, he is just a man of hollow words—announcing that he will pick up from where Quaid-eAzam had left. Indifferent till the revolution, the constitution mission just saluted these criminals of neglect and incorporated them right into new system. And today, one of them is the leader of revolution, or a full-fledged partner of the revolutionaries.

Quaid-e-Azam separated everything, created a new country, and today Marshal sahib announces a pardon to Pandat jee (Pandat Jewaharlal Nehru). *Wah wah!* Today he was granted a pardon and tomorrow he will be granted a union, the next day, everything will be collective again. On one side we have soldiers whose *mulysha's* undershirts are torn, soiled and rotten and on the other side, we have our Field Marshal who appears in foreign, non-Pakistani dress. All one needs to do is calculate how many uniforms could be bought for the price of his one tie.

Why don't you scream and shout and stop the construction. Swear to God, if the stick of the *tahsildar* or other officials did not loom over the heads of the donators, forget about 1.5 crore, (you) could not even have collected 1.5 *lach* (rupees). In my earlier correspondence from Nok Kandi CID post, I had mentioned that the targeted donors are themselves dressed in rags. (Today, my clothes are torn and worn out) and the *tahsildar* is forcibly demanding Rs. 5/-. May your brother's tomb be never built with such donations...

(Look at this poor helpless woman, who came begging for four *annas* (quarter). I slid my hand into the pocket while writing this letter. I swear here was not even one *paie* (penny) in my pocket and had to beg pardon form the helpless (woman).

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At least return me the Rs. 100/- with which I had bought the ticket I sent you from Nok Kandi. That money did not belong to me but to my deceased brother, Anayatullah. Today, the martial law government cannot even provide Rs. 25/-pension to his orphans. Is this a martial law government or is it a circus government. And then it aims to built a memorial! I would not like to spend one rupee of my donation on this grave, which is going to be collected through the irresponsible and neglectful criminals, by force and cruel mechanisms, mistreating most of the public. Since the money has been already collected, spend it on building a dam in Baluchistan, so that poor women stop begging and land gets cultivated. Think of how many families will be rehabilitated and then compare it to (the idea of) spending that money on one grave, something that is not even allowed in Islam. Why not built a chromite plant in Hind Bagh. It is something that the nation can benefit a lot from. If there are not enough funds for it, Nawab Kalabagh will give some. You can then name it Jinnah plant. The poor laborers who will work there, will pray for you and your brother. If one agrees with the message of Nawab Kalabagh's first speech as a governor, then the first tomb to be built should be that of Liaqat Ali, who was martyred while serving. Your brother died of health reasons. And the second tomb should be that of Nishtar, who, as one hears, at least had slapped Patel in a conference. For God's sake, why do you do such things, which are against the teachings of God and his prophet?

What does molana thanwe sahb say?...He tells (us) that political situation is unstable and then puts you in charge of this mausoleum. First attend to things that will stabilize the situation. If God is happy, his prophet will be happy too and then you can do other things.

Sorry for bothering you, the nomad, Abdul Khair.

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